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CŌḶA MEYKKIRTTIS AS LITERARY TEXTS

Richard H.Davis.

Among the many innovations of Rājarāja's reign was the practice of introducing inscriptions issued in his name with a standardized Tamil *meykkīrtti*, or eulogy praising the ruling king and describing the achievements of his reign. All subsequent Cōḷa kings followed Rājarāja's practice.

These *meykkīrttis* have proved to be uniquely valuable to historians, enabling them to establish a detailed chronology of the Cōḷa dynasty. The pre-eminent historian of South India, K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, even though he at one point commented that *meykkīrttis* occasionally warrant the title *poykkīrtti*, used these as one of his primary sources in writing his history *The Cōḷas*, and since his time historians have continued to re-use and re-analyze them.

In this paper, I will suggest that we consider these *meykkīrttis* not only as historical sources, but also as literature. They were clearly intended as works of poetry: they are most often in meter, using rhyme and alliteration, and employing a repertoire of figures of speech. Nilakanta Sastri himself recognized this, and went so far as to remark that some "may be classed among the best specimens of the literature of the age". Although no expert on Tamil literature, I would tend to agree with this judgement. There is a vigour of narration, and a restrained but effective use of poetic devices that I find very attractive. No doubt it was the task of the best royal poets to compose them.

Meykkīrttis are best viewed, I believe, as a type of rhetoric. The word 'rhetoric' is sometimes used in a derogatory sense, but I do not mean any detraction by using it. In Western literary criticism, 'rhetoric' simply means any form of literature whose main purpose is to persuade its audience of something. *Meykkīrttis* were poems meant for a large audience, intended to persuade them that the Cōḷa king was the rightful king by virtue of his great achievements. In proclaiming his greatness, they argue that he fulfils the proper role of king, the Cōḷa conception of what a king should be. For me, as a cultural historian, this is what is most interesting about the Cōḷa *meykkīrttis:* what do they show us about the Cōḷa concept of kingship?

Reading the *meykkīrttis* as poems, I was struck by the contrasting way they describe two different

places where the king acts. Describing the king's activities in battle, which I will call the 'landscape of battle', a hot, vigorous, 'macho' style is applied. When describing the king as ruler and lord of the Cōḻa kingdom, the 'landscape under the king's parasol', a more calm, cool, and stately style is used. As with the landscapes of Śaṅgam poetry, these two landscapes seem to have a series of contrasting features that distinguish one from the other, acting as a constant background that resonates through the poems.

Let me try to describe some of the characteristics of these two landscapes, as they appear in the Cōḻa *meykkīrttis*.

The field of battle is a hot, severe place, and war is a heated activity. The term used repeatedly to describe battle and battle-ground is *Vemmai*, denoting 'heat' 'severity' 'harshness'. Weapons are spoken of as heated, cruel, fearful. The rutting elephants that the warriors ride into battle are hot, impetuous, wrathful. The warriors themselves come to resemble rutting elephants on account of their fierceness. These men who fight on the battlefield are strong men. In the brief identifying epithets that often precede their names, words for 'strength' and 'fierceness' occur repeatedly. Warriors are also identified by their weapons, and they fight under banners that depict wild animals -- tigers, wild boars etc. From their description emerges a sort of collective portrait of these warriors as men who take pride in, and are known for, their fierceness and their strength.

Although the battlefield is a severe place, kings and warriors do not therefore avoid it. They even take pleasure in exercising their fighting capacities. When Vīrarājēndra received a challenge to battle from his arch-enemy, Āhavamalla, his heart, face and shoulders "became doubly luminous with surpassing beauty and joy" in anticipation of the battle to come. For the warrior, the battlefield is the scene for the display of valour *(Vīram)*, and valour is the warrior's pre-eminent virtue. What is valour? It certainly involves the use of strength. But it also implies courage and self-control: take for instance the valour of Rājēndra II:

> "Even when a shower of straight shafts had pierced the head of his elephant, his own royal thigh, and his mountain-like shoulder, and the anklet-wearing heroes mounted on the elephant with him were slain, Rājēndra still directed many peerless fighting battalions onto the field and sent countless enemy princes off to heaven."

Valour is the quality that enables him to advance towards his goal amidst the chaos of battle. The purpose of battle is to obtain 'victory' and personal valour especially that of the king is seen as the means of achieving this goal.

Warriors are strong and generally valorous but still sometimes fear may seize them. In these inscriptions, Cōḻa warriors are never fearful, but sometimes their opponents, when faced with the overwhelming ferocity of the Cōḻa attack, may lose their valour. With fear comes loss of the self-control; frightened warriors tremble violently','cower with anxiety', their hearts 'whirl' in agitation.

This fear often causes warriors to do a dishonorable thing: to turn their backs and flee. We read often of enemy kings put to flight by the Cōḻa attack. Fleeing is considered shameful, and the *meykkīrttis* often dwell on the degrading spectacle that a fleeing king makes. Āhavamalla, for instance--

> "fled, trembling violently, with hair dishevelled, turning his back, looking around, and tiring out his legs, and was forced to plunge into the western ocean."

Hardly a worthy appearance for a king. Fleeing from battle involves a 'disgrace' or 'reproach' that is both public and private: cowardly warriors are doubly plagued by the reproach of others and by their own feelings of shame. This shame can be so intense that a defeated warrior may reflect that "It would be better to die than to live with this reproach," and therefore return to battle, and then 'came back in order to remove the disgrace' he had incurred, fought hard against the Cōḻas, and finally 'was withered in a heated battle'.

Death is an important element in the battle landscape, and these inscriptions do not generally flinch from describing it. The Cōḻas do their best to give their opponents a humiliating death. The general practice is to cut off the heads of the defeated, preferably with the crown still intact. Heads of important enemies are then transported back to the Cōḻa capital, and nailed up for public display. Looting also features in these inscriptions, as a normal and laudable symbol of victory. When Vīrarājēndra defeated Āhavamalla, he

> "plundered his wives, his family treasure, conches, the parasol, trumpets, *peri* drums, canopies, white *cāmaras*, the banner of the boar, the crocodile gateway, Blossom, the female elephant and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses."

Loot is even worth a public display back home, as Vīrarājēndra did after his next campaign. He "showed off in orderly rows the great heaps of treasures he had taken from the good country of Vēṅkai".

These are some of the features of the landscape of battle, as described in the *meykkīrttis*. To us, it may not appear as an inviting landscape, but it is one field in which the Cōḻas demonstrate and achieve their glory, and so it is described in the *meykkīrttis* in a vigorous and laudatory style.

The landscape of battle does *not* exist in isolation. It is always contrasted with another landscape which acts as its counterpart: the landscape beneath the shade of the king's parasol, the orderly kingdom. The *shadow of the king's* sovereignty, symbolized by his parasol, shields the kingdom and all who live there. The parasol of the Cōḻa king has a cooling, sheltering, beneficent influence *on all* that lives within its shade. The entire landscape under the parasol flourishes.

The kingdom shaded by the Cōḻa parasol is an orderly place. Things are done in their proper order, according to established precedent. When feudatories come to pay their respects to Adhirājēndra, they worship his feet each in turn. This orderliness

does not happen by itself. It requires an effort on the part of the king himself to bring it about. The king himself must destroy Kāḷi, the personification of disorder, or force it to retreat underground. And with disorder banished, the kingdom becomes a place where 'proper conduct' as prescribed by the ancient texts may flourish. The king himself sets the example by his own proper behaviour. Thus, the process of creating and maintaining order beneath the parasol is one in which the Cōḷa king is centrally involved, as initiator, enforcer, and exemplar.

In this orderly environment, men know their places and act accordingly. The characteristic actions of the shaded landscape are hierarchized transactions, with clearly delineated superiors and inferiors. The superior in these inscriptions is always the Cōḷa king. Subordinate rulers come before him as inferiors and bow in reverence, or worship his feet, or even bear the king's feet like a crown on their heads. They bring tribute. Tribute is not a gift, but a compulsory token of subordination, which must be paid without laxity by feudatory rulers.

The king, on the other hand, gives things away freely, out of his grace or liberality. The king distributes what is already his to those whom he favours. In these inscriptions, he is shown granting three closely related kinds of things: crowns, titles and domains. All three are tied to the right to rule over a particular area and most frequently all three go together. For instance, Vīrarājēndra

> "gracefully gave to his royal son Kaṅkaikoṇṭa-Cōḻaṉ the domain of the Pāṇḍyas, whose jeweled crown is eminent in this world, along with the title "Cōḻapāṇḍyaṉ of the army of tall horses and elephants".

The king, then, distributes by his grace, portions of the sovereignty which he has acquired.

If valour is the principal virtue of the battle field, liberality is the pre-eminent virtue of the parasol landscape, but this applies only to the king. The king, as the highest person in the kingdom, is celebrated repeatedly for his liberality and grace. When he bestows crowns or titles, it is always done 'out of grace'. On the other hand, the feudatory kings who give tribute to the Cōḷa sovereign are not praised for virtue, because there is no liberality in their payments. They act because they have to, *not* because they choose.

The pre-eminent figure of the shaded landscape is always the Cōḷa king. It is he who raises the parasol, who dispells Kali, who wields the sceptre. He is the centre of the transactions that take place there, either as recipient of praise and tribute or as distributor of honors and domains. Even the land that he rules over and its prosperity -- personified as goddesses -- are said to be the king's wives who 'rest on his rounded arm' and 'experience delight' in their union with him.

Thus we see two highly contrasting landscapes described in the Cōḷa *meykkīrttis*. The mood of the battle landscape is hot, severe, cruel: that of the parasol landscape is cool, shaded, merciful. In the battle landscape, men suffer death and the earth is devastated; under the parasol, all creatures are prosperous and the lands are fertile. In battle, armies

engage in an antagonistic and chaotic effort to establish dominance, while in the parasol landscape, superiors and inferiors engage in orderly transactions expressing an establishing hierarchy that all accept. The virtues most prized in battle are strength, courage, and valour; those of the parasol landscape are propriety and liberality. One could hardly imagine two more dissimilar environments!

Yet the primary purpose of these *meykkīrttis* is to make public praise of the Cōḻa king. They tell us how the king is pre-eminent in both war and peace: in battle, his valour enables the Cōḻa army to achieve victory; in peace, his steadfastness and liberality bring order and prosperity to the kingdom. This double virtue of the king is all the more remarkable because the two landscapes in which it must be exercised are so markedly different.

It is instructive to compare these Tamil *meykkīrttis*, with their Sanskrit counterparts, called *praśastis*. *Praśastis* are a common feature of Sanskrit inscriptions from all parts of India, and fulfill the same general role as *meykkīrtti:* that is, they praise the king in highly poetic style, and implicitly argue for the king's right to rule. It became common, in most parts, to issue an inscription in which the *praśasti* was in Sanskrit, and the remainder(or'administrative' portion) was in the regional vernacular. There are a number of such mixed Sanskrit-Tamil inscriptions issued by the Cōḻas.

Rājarāja's new practice of using a standardized Tamil eulogy was an innovation in three respects. First, it is in the local vernacular, for the first time. This would of course greatly increase the audience able to understand. No doubt Rājarāja was conscious of this in initiating this practice -- this was only one of many ways that he sought to broadcast his fame far and wide. Second, while each *praśasti* is -- so far as we know -- unique, Tamil *meykkīrttis* follow standard formats for each king, only adding new achievements as they occurred. Perhaps Rājarāja recognized the virtues of mass-production: it is certainly true that this standardization enabled him and his successors to proclaim their kingship more widely and to repeat it with greater frequency than would have been possible using individual compositions.

Third, the Tamil *meykkīrttis* dispense with genealogy. Sanskrit *praśastis* almost always place the current king in a genealogy, praising all his predecessors. In effect, they legitimize the current king by showing that he descends from a lineage of kings. Tamil *meykkīrtti* speaks only of the achievements of the current king. That is, it implies that the king deserves to be king by virtue of his own deeds, rather than merely of his birth. I think this innovation is related to the period immediately preceding Rājarāja's accession, when the Cōḻa throne was much disputed and genealogical claims to the throne became confused. Reflecting on this, Rājarāja came to understand that the only sure claim to sovereignty was to act like a king, with valour on the battlefield and liberality within his own realm -- and made the decision to express this understanding in his inscriptions.

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TEMPLE LANDHOLDING AND VILLAGE GEOGRAPHY IN THE CŌḶA PERIOD: RECONSTRUCTIONS THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS

James Heitzman and S.Rajagopal

This article discusses the role of temples in local land control during the Cōḷa period (849-1279 A.D.) in Tamil Nadu. During that time, numerous donations to religious institutions allowed the formation of extensive blocks of land which provided agrarian resources supporting rituals at Hindu shrines. The collection of donated lands in the name of deities, in some cases, eventually raised temples to positions of influence in the agrarian economies of neighboring settlements. The present paper investigates the formation of temple estates at two settlements in central Tamil Nadu where early brāhmaṇa settlements later developed into larger temple endowments dominating local economy. This study reveals two major aspects of the temple landholdings during the Cōḷa period: the accumulation of temple lands was intimately connected with the expansion of cultivable lands; temple estates in the Cōḷa period, exhibiting a variety of tenurial arrangements, comprised a separate and relatively small part of cultivated lands. The methodology used here utilizes a rich but relatively untouched body of inscriptional data--descriptions of land boundaries -- to reconstruct the geography of medieval villages and the lands of temples and other landholders.

Little scholarly work has appeared dealing with the physical layout of medieval villages in South India. Most studies have described the physical attributes and dating of the caves and structures associated with temples; but these discussions, complete with ground plans of temple buildings, have remained devoid of interconnections with either surrounding secular structures or even with the extensive networks of lands connected with religious endowments. Archaeological excavations have revealed agrarian and commercial settlements from Śaṅgam times, and recent work has contributed to the knowledge of urbanism in the post-Cōḷa capital of Vijayanagara. But the Cōḷa period has remained relatively unexplored, aside from some recent and unpublished excavations of a "palace" at the capital of Gaṅgaikondacōḷapuram,[1] several preliminary studies of the capital near Kuṁbakōṇam (Minakshisundaram & Sadasiva Pandarathar 1951; Champakalakshmi, 1979) and Subbarayalu's ground-breaking study of the *nāḍu* which remains basically a reference work (Subbarayalu 1973).

The numerous inscriptions of the Cōḷa period contain a rich source of geographical data in the many descriptions of local geography embedded in the boundaries of donated

lands. When a donor arranged for the transfer of land or agrarian produce from land to a temple, it was a standard procedure to describe the location of the land in question by referring to its four boundaries in the cardinal directions. In cases of large or irregularly-shaped lands, a number of landmarks in one or more directions could appear. Descriptions of many donated lands thus yield locations of at least four other lands of prominent landmarks in their vicinity. Often the boundaries include permanent physical features such as hills or rivers, or relatively stable man-made features such as temples or village habitation sites.

A good percentage of the boundaries are irrigation facilities including rivers, lakes and canals, many of which may have been subject to little change during the last 1000 years. The medieval names of major physical features, irrigation facilities, temples or other structures, and even cultivated fields, may be identical to their modern names. When several donated lands share one or more common bounding landmarks, it becomes possible to link them in a rough relation to each other; when a number of lands are so linked, and when landmarks correspond to known modern geography, fairly extensive areas of medieval terrain come to light. In some places the number of lands with boundaries in surviving temple inscriptions becomes large enough, and mutual linkages among the lands are complete enough, to allow a fairly accurate reconstruction of the layout and the landholding patterns of village lands.

For the purposes of the present study we have chosen two sites: Vaḍakāḍu in Tirutturaippūṇḍi taluk, Thañjāvūr district, and Tirukkōyilūr, Tirukkoyilur taluk, South Arcot district.[2] The temples at these places provide a sufficient number of inscriptional references to Cōḻa-period lands to allow a detailed study of village geography and temple landholdings. There were three stages in the utilization of boundary details for geographical reconstruction. The first stage was the reading of a complete set of surviving records from the study period found at the central temples, and the recording of all geographic data from those records.[3] The next stage was personal fieldwork in the neighborhood of the study temples, equipped with inscriptional data and modern village survey maps. We travelled to the study sites and consulted with aged and experienced citizens of modern villages, who have intimate knowledge of local lands and lore, and could at times equate many names from the medieval records with modern configurations of their villages. The final stage was the co-ordination of data from the inscriptions with information obtained through local informants and through personal observation. At this stage, total immersion in these data and a good hard study of the modern survey maps yielded locations for a large percentage of lands appearing in the boundaries of the medieval lands.

I. Temple Lands at Vaḍakāḍu

The village of Vadakadu[4] lies in the southwest corner of Tirutturaippundi taluk, about two kilometers north of the town of Muthupēṭ and about eleven kilometers north of the ocean. The place is somewhat isolated from the modern urbanization that has affected nearby Muthupet and Tirutturaippundi towns. Although

the village site of Vadakadu occupies a fairly extensive area, there are no large-scale constructions there and the house sites stand in clusters separated by open ground, gardens, or small tanks. The main buildings in the village are in the Śiva temple of Mantrapureśvara Svâmy, which has yielded a number of later Cōḻa inscriptions. The temple compound (about 250 x 150 meters) mirrors the layout of the village as a whole, for it is generally devoid of structures aside from the inner courtyards at its western end. The village (population 1,209 in 1971) projects a spacious and quiet atmosphere.

The agricultural economy around Vadakadu has always depended on irrigation water coming through local rivers that originally receive run-off through major canals from the Kāvēri River. A great deal of effort has been expended recently in Tirutturaippundi taluk to strengthen and extend the irrigation canals feeding local villages, but in times of drought these places, at the tail end of the system, still suffer from lack of irrigation water. Around Vadakadu the main water source is the Bāmiyāṉ River which heads here to the south, supplying water to smaller canals and storage tanks on both its banks. East of the Bamiyan River lie Vadakadu, receiving water through the modern Kaṇḍappirichchāṉ River and subsidiary channels, and East Nammankurichchi, supplied through channels parallelling the Bamiyan River. West of the Bamiyan River lie the villages of West Nammankurichchi and Kalyāṇa Ōḍai. South of the Nammankuṟichchis lie Maṅgal, at the tail end of the local canal system, and Tērkukāḍu to its east. Presently all these lands, and all the lands in surrounding villages, are divided into fields serviced through the local irrigation system stemming originally from the Bamiyan River.

The Mantrapureśvara Svāmy temple has long been, and remains, a landowning institution in the area around Vadakadu. The temple owns 90 per cent of the lands in Vadakadu, all the land in Mangal, and substantial lands in the Nammankurichchis, Terkukadu, and all other bounding villages. Formerly the temple possessed extensive holdings in more distant locations, but during the last hundred years much of that land has been alienated.[5]

Thirteen detailed inscriptions[6] from the temple describe the initial stages of temple land control around Vadakadu. The earliest record dates from 1123 A.D. (*TK* 181) and presupposes an already viable agricultural community called Cāttāṉam alias Kēraḷakulācāni-caturvedimaṅkalam. This brāhmaṇa settlement, in existence at least since the latter part of the 11th century A.D., had enjoyed some measure of tax-free status. The medieval locations of house sites and the temple in Cattanam were basically the same as the modern locations. West of the village site lay agricultural fields called Vikkiramacōḻanallūr, probably including some lands of brāhmaṇas and definitely including, in the southern sections, lands allocated for village service personnel such as carpenters *(taccar)* and goldsmiths *(taṭṭāṉ)* (*TK* 181, 198). West of Vikkiramacōḻanallūr lay the hamlet (piṭākai) of Nampaṅkuṟicci. The earliest inscription describes the exclusion of brāhmaṇas from the enjoyment of Cattanam, and the grouping of Cattanam and Vikkiramacōḻanallūr into one unit owned by the Śiva temple. This act created the core of extensive local temple lands (see Map 1).

The next series of important additions to temple lands occurred approximately 100 years later, when substantial portions of Nampankuricci were transferred to the temple. Here prominent local notables partially alienated their own private lands. Leading in this movement was a group of chiefs calling themselves Cōḻiyavaraiyaṉ. The first donation of a member of this group occurred when Piccaṉ-pallavarāyaṉ, alias Cōḻavaraiyaṉ, from Paiyyūr in Paiyyūr-nāḍu,[7] gave over 4 *mā* of land around Cattanam village (*ARE* 1908: 215). Irājakampīra Cōḻiyavaraiyaṉ, alias Cokkanāyaṉ, later met with temple officials and issued an order (*ōlai*) creating a new endowment for rituals and allocating lands (*Ibid.* No.203). Later, Vaṉarāyar ("Lord of the Bānas"), alias Cōḻiyavaraiyaṉ, set up a monastery here named after himself (*Ibid.* No.210, 211). A final record describes Cōḻiyavaraiyaṉ as a "ruler" (*vanniyar*) here, with a subordinate (*akampaṭiyār*) in charge of local security (*kāval kūli*) (*Ibid.* No.192). Donations by these notables in Nampankuricci entailed the transfer of their property (*kāṇi*) there to the temple, and the defrayment of taxes on the donated land by adding them to the taxes due from their remaining private property. Boundaries of the donated lands in Nampankuricci indicate that these men held much of the land in the north of the village, while other landowners there were members of cultivating castes (*veḷḷāḷar*). Nampankuricci remained, at least until the time of these donations, a settlement of agriculturalist groups, which was dominated in the early thirteenth century by these local notables.

Mercantile communities from several places in the vicinity of Cattanam donated lands and resources for the deity there. The prominence of local commerce, probably based on the exploitation of the nearby salt marshes to the south, is mirrored in the name of the road passing through Cattanam ("the big road of the three hundred") referring to a pan-regional trading association (*TK* 198), and the name of the trading settlement to the east (Uppūr, the "salt village") after the main article of commercial value. The donations of mercantile communities were instrumental in providing the Cattanam temple with small plots of land in eight exterior villages by the end of the Cōḻa period.[8]

Although the early brāhmaṇa assembly of Kēraḷakulacāṉi-caturvēdimaṅkalam was deprived of the official enjoyment of the expanding temple lands, the brāhmaṇa families were probably not sent packing, but remained in Cattanam with emoluments for ritual duties through the temple. In addition, lands in the immediate vicinity either remained in the hands of brahmanas or came under their control as cultivation expanded. The area north of Nampankuricci was known as Tāṇtinallūr, probably controlled by brāhmaṇas, and the areas north of Cattanam, unmentioned in earlier records, comprised brāhmaṇa lands in the early 13th century (*TK* 182, 183, 198, 209, 224).[9] The settlement of Kalyāṇapuraṅkoṇṭacōḻanallūr, several kilometers to the west, was also a brāhmaṇa enclave (*TK* 198).

The boundaries of donated lands provide some insights into the extent of the local irrigation system in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. The main irrigation canal was called the Kaṭukali River, which originated at the Akaḷaka River (the modern

Bamiyan River), north of Nampankuricci, flowed south-southeast on the eastern side of Nampankuricci, and turned to flow east past the northern side of Cattanam (*TK* 181-83, 198). Branching from this main river were a number of smaller channels, some of which were labelled by numbers (the second through sixth channels occur in the surviving inscriptions) (*TK* 182, 198, 203). The terminal areas of the minor channels were, and still are, the sites of a number of tanks, which conserve water for longer periods. The channel system of the Katukali River is the only irrigation network traceable until the later inscriptions of the 13th century A.D. mention lands and canals north of Cattanam. There donations by brāhmaṇas bounded irrigation facilities corresponding to the modern Kandappirichchan and its southern extension, known then as the Āṉaimaṭai-vāykkāl and the Pāṭoṭi-vāykkal.[10] The existence of these main channels indicates that the fields north of Cattanam village were cultivable, probably under brahmana control, in the early 13th century A.D.

Several features of the inscriptional references to lands and irrigation facilities suggest that the agrarian economy around Vadakadu was slowly expanding during the Cōḻa period. The earliest land record carefully enumerated the land boundaries on the southern and western sides of the original temple land endowment, but contained little reference to boundaries on the north and east.[11] The reason for this omission may lie in the relatively undeveloped irrigation system of the 12th century A.D., when the Katukali River was the central irrigation facility. Cultivable lands clustered around the channels branching off from this river. Changes in the ownership of these lands, as was typical in Cōḻa land deeds, required delineation of boundaries in order to keep legally separate the lands of different private owners. Land without access to the irrigation system remained uncultivated and was the public domain of the village. Land bordering this public domain required no boundary references. Thus the lands north and east of the original temple endowment were probably unirrigated, uncultivated, and public property in the early 12th century. One hundred years later, however, a canal system existed north of Cattanam, and lands here were controlled by brāhmanas. The donation of those lands to the temple required careful delineation of boundaries in order to differentiate between the donated lands and contiguous lands in the hands of other owners. The waste lands of the 12th century had become irrigated rice lands in the 13th century, along with the individuation of land control that accompanied rice cultivation.

A hypothetical reconstruction of agrarian expansion is possible. An original brahmana settlement existed at Cattanam/Kēraḷakulacāṉicaturvēdimaṅkalam from at least the late 11th century, dependent on the produce from cultivated lands which clustered around the irrigation system of the Katukali River. Nampankuricci, a village of the agricultural castes, was equally dependent on the waters of the Katukali River. The only known settlement west of the river was Kalyāṇapuraṅkoṇṭacōḻanallūr, probably a late 11th century temple endowment.[12] The modern configuration of contiguous agricultural villages was, therefore, absent through the 12th century, since a more ramified series of channels

leading from the Akalaka River were undeveloped. Indications of further channel development appear in the early 13th century. The possession of the lands north of both Nampankuricci and Cattanam at that time suggests that members of brahmana families, officially excluded from land ownership after conversion of the village from *brahmadēyam* to *dēvadānam* tenure, operated from a position of continuing strength there and played a leading role in the continuing expansion of cultivable land once irrigation works were in place. By the mid-13th century, the Śiva temple had accumulated more lands on the borders of the original endowment,[13] in Nampankuricci and in the north. Continuing development of the local irrigation network, and the gradual takeover of new cultivable lands by the temple, post-dated the Cōḻa period and eventually led to almost complete local landholding dominance for the temple--a dominance that began to erode in the twentieth century.

The expansion of the local landownings of the temple at Vadakadu resulted from the largesse of several types of donors and was closely connected with an expansion of the local cultivable area that proceeded in several stages. The earliest permanent settlement known to exist here was the brahmana settlement of the 11th century, either set up on virgin territory, imposed upon an original village of cultivators, or deliberately located near an original Nampankuricci The creation of this early brahmana community was the work of the Cōḻa kings, who allocated at least the tax revenues from the village lands. The alteration of the official - title of the village from a *brahmadēyam* to a *dēvadānam* probably incorporated the original land titles of the brāhmaṇas within the larger organization of the temple. Subsequent endowments came first from secular notables who added to temple lands from their own properties. These notables seem to have been newcomers to the area, moving from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to take possession of sections within a shrinking Cōḻa domain. The concentration of all these donations among the fields watered by a single irrigation canal changed at the end of the Cōḻa period when the construction of new canals to the north opened up new cultivable lands. The main actors in this new expansion seem to have been the brāhmaṇas connected with the temple. The obvious importance of commercial communities in local trade was translated into only a few small, peripheral donations of lands in exterior villages. The main initiators were the kings, then local secular notables, then the temple staff alone.

II. Temple Lands at Tirukkōyilūr

Tirukkoyilur is the headquarters of the taluk with the same name on the southern bank of the Peṇṇai River. The place has a very long recorded history, and was the scene of legendary exploits recorded in Śaṅgam literature from the early Christian era (Srinivasan 1980). Today the place is a bustling, crowed urban center (population in 1971 was 18,226) offering a marked contrast to the isolation of Vadakadu. The modern town contains two main centers of habitation which revolve around two medieval temples. Tirukkoyilur proper centers on the Tiruvikramasvāmy temple, one of the main shrines for the worship of Viṣṇu in Tamil

Nadu, known in Cōḷa times as the abode of Tiruviṭaikali Āḻvār. The smaller settlement of Kīḻaiyūr (called Kīḻūr, or the "eastern village", in lists of inscriptions) centers on a Siva temple which in Cōḷa times was the abode of Tiruvīraṭṭānāttu-uṭaiyār.

The Viṣṇu temple has received numerous donations from devotees since the Cōḷa period, and its original Cōḷa-period architecture is surrounded by massive and impressive constructions dating from Vijayanagara times and after. Administration of the temple during the Cōḷa period was in the hands of an autonomous temple administration, but presently a Vaiṣṇava monastery administers the temple's affairs from its center directly east of the temple.[14] The Śiva temple received less patronage during the post-Cōḷa periods, and today presents a less imposing appearance that enhances the pristine beauty of its middle Cōḷa architecture. The two temples contain inscriptions describing a total of 104 individually named plots of temple lands from the Cōḷa period, out of which 60 have been located for the present study (see Map 2).[15]

Tirukkoyilur during the 12th century A.D., has experienced an increase in population and market activity typical of most taluk headquarters, but a major facet of the local economy is still agriculture. Despite the addition of numerous tube wells throughout South Arcot District during recent years, agriculture around Tirukkoyilur depends even today on the irrigation waters obtained from the adjacent Pennai River. Sluices located several kilometers to the west divert Pennai waters through irrigation ditches to either a large lake *(periya ēri)* or a small lake *(ciṟṟēri)* south and west of Tirukkoyilur town (see map 2). In accordance with the generally eastward slope of the land, the large lake waters fields directly to its east, while the small lake waters lands between it and the Pennai River, to its north and northeast. The lands to the west of the big lake receive irrigation waters from several small lakes and irrigation systems to the west and the south.

Tirukkoyilur and Kilur are bounded by several other agricultural villages: Dēviagaram lies directly south of Tirukkoyilur town, southeast of the big lake. Kīraṉūr lies south and west of the small lake. Karaḍı lies further west, the site of several humble Cōḷa-period inscriptions. All these places receive irrigation waters from canals and lakes separate from those watering Tirukkoyilur. The modern Āyāyiraṉ-vāykkāl, arising in Tirukkoyilur and dividing it from Kilur, brings waters to settlements further down the Pennai River.

The legendary history *(sthala-purāṇam)* of the Viṣṇu temple describes Tirukkoyilur (then called Tirukkōvalūr) as originally a brāhmaṇa community in which the main activities were performances of sacrifices, worship, and austerities by brāhmaṇas and religious mendicants. Although the Viṣṇu temple and bathing sites *(tīrtham)* on the Pennai River were important in this early community, the presence of the brahmanas appears as antecedent. Surrounding the community was a wilderness full of ferocious beasts *(Tirukkōvalūr-stala - purāṇam,* pp.10-12). Despite the rather formulaic portrayal of the settlement, which is simply a localized version of the forest hermitage *(āraṇyam)* appearing in classical literature, the legendary

history here may preserve a memory of some original *brahmadēyam* which grew up in the early history of settled agriculture along the Pennai. The wilderness around the settlement corresponds to the uncultivated wastes which, as we have seen, surrounded the early *brahmadēyam* at Cattanam.

By the Cōḻa period, the geography of Tirukkoyilur (Tirukkovalur) revolved around the Viṣṇu temple. The temple itself, an originally brick structure, was rebuilt in stone during the reign of Rājēndra II (11th century, *SII* VII: 135). Although there was undoubtedly an original surrounding wall, an additional wall was added sometime late in the twelfth century.[16] It seems likely, however, that the addition of a surrounding wall did not necessitate the expansion of the sacred ground devoted to the lord. References to the nearby roads and house sites suggest that an original expanse of sacred ground became covered with temple structures during a long period of temple construction (*SII* VII: 137, 141). Today, imposing towers (*gopuram*) give access to temple grounds covered with paving stone and buildings. In the Cōḻa period, the same ground may have been covered with flower gardends, separating the sanctum from its surrounding wall and its surrounding wall from other habitation structures. This layout is more visible today at the Siva temple in Kilur, somewhat distant from other buildings, more neglected during the last 800 years.

A processional street probably surrounded the grounds of the Viṣṇu temple, although direct reference to only the eastern street occurs in the inscriptions. This street, running northsouth, eventually reached the Pennai River after crossing several important irrigation channels (*SII* VII: 137). Another road branched off from this street north of the temple walls and headed for the embankment separating the two lakes, reaching the lands south of the small lake (*SII* VII: 141). East of the temple lay the *ampalam*, or site of the learned community. It is likely that here lived the majority of the brahmanas involved in the assembly (*sabhai*) of Maturāntakacaturvēdimaṅgalam, the name bestowed on the brāhmaṇa community here in the early Cōḻa period.[17] Much of the space in the area of the *ampalam* was taken up by habitation structures (*maṉai*), but as in the case of the temple, there were gardens and agricultural lands separating some of the houses even in this section of the town (*SII* VII: 141). The area north of the *ampalam*, near the major canals, included the locations of minor temples of Pillaiyar and Subrahmanyam, and at least one Jain monastery/temple (*Paḷḷiccantam*); today also this area is still the site of minor temples and a variety of public offices.

The geography of what is now the southern part of Tirukkoyilur is unknown for the Cola period, but references to the mercantile community (*nagarattār*) suggest that there was a commercial establishment in the southern part of the town near what is now the merchants' quarter. During the early Cōḻa period the *nagaram* at Tirukkoyilur appears as an assembly dealing with corporate responsibilities toward the temple, taking deposits yielding interest for temple rituals, guaranteeing supplies for temple worship and provisions for personnel (*SII* VII: 858, 864, 870, 932, 935). During the later Cola period, the *nagaram* was associated with weaving and oilvending

groups and with *nāḍu*- wide commercial groups (*SII* VII: 129, 865, 901). The wider scope of association visible in the mercantile organization of Tirukkoyilur paralleled the presence of *nāḍu*-wide coalitions of cultivators (*citramēḻi periya nāṭṭār*), who were acting within the Viṣṇu temple as major donors during the 13th century (*SII* VII: 129; *ARE* 1921: 341).

Two inscriptions (*SII* VII 144,857) fortuitously describe the boundaries of Tirukkovalur during the reign of Rājarāja I, around 1000. Kannattampāti village lay east of the Śiva temple. Arumpākkam village, corresponding to the modern village of the same name, formed the southern boundary south of the big lake; it was in turn bounded on the south by Veṇmāṟu village, modern Vimmar. On the west lay Karaṭi, the modern village of the same name. The original endowment of Maturāntaka-caturvēdimaṅgalam may have comprised the entire extent of lands within these large boundaries, but the Cōḻa records reveal *sabhai* control only within the *ampalam* and in the lands in the west, flanking the small lake to the north and the south (*SII* VII: 137, 139, 140, 872). Later inscriptions mention the existence of settlements called Cōmāci-kīranūr and Panriyūr in the western sections of Tirukkovalur next to the lands of the caturvēdimaṅgalam (*SII* VII: 137, *ARE* 1921: 345); perhaps these were recent additions to cultivated acreage formed out of, or next to, lands of the brahmanas. In the eastern sections of town, the modern administrative division between Tirukkoyilur and Kilur had its medieval antecedents, for references to the lands near the Śiva temple mention several settlements called Tēvankuṭi 'settlement of the god', Civapuram 'city of Śiva',(perhaps a trading quarter), and Putuppērūr the 'new, big town'. In the absence of further details, we may ascribe these names to the modern habitation areas in Kilur around the Śiva temple (*SII* VII: 144, 857, 858, 863; *SITI*, 144, 45).

The irrigation facilities around Tirukkoyilur have retained the same basic configurations, and even the same names, since the Cōḻa period. Several inscriptional references (*ARE* 1921:211, 322, 341, 345) indicate that the small lake (*ciṟṟēri*) stretched then, as now, from a point in the west where its feeder canal joined it near the *Nāṟai-kal* rocky ground, to an embankment in the east separating it from the large lake (*periya ēri*). The large lake, never specifically mentioned in the Cōḻa inscriptions, did exist during the Cōḻa period, for the description of the eastern embankment of the small lake implies the existence of the adjacent large lake; the Cōḻa-period name of the "small" lake also implies its pairing with a "large" lake. The main irrigation canals from the Cōḻa inscriptions similarly match several main modern canals. Predominant for Tirukkoyilur town was the "canal of the small lake" (*ciṟṟēri vāykkal*), flowing from the eastern end of that lake to the northeast and then the east, watering fields in the town and especially between the town and the river. Equally important was the Nittavinōta-vāykkal, which started from a sluice a bit northwest of the small lake, flowed directly east past Tirukkovalur town, and eventually went past the Śiva temple to points east.

The lands donated to both the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples lay generally in those areas close to the Pennai

River and irigated by the major canals. Land donations in the east and far west during the 10th and 11th centuries shifted to donations immediately north or northwest of Tirukkovalur town or farther to the southwest during the 12th and 13th centuries.[18] The lands of the Śiva temple lay in the area corresponding to modern Kilur, while lands of the Visnu temple lay around modern Tirukkoyilur town and to the west. Some interdigitation of the lands of the two temples occurred north of Tirukkoyilur town, but even here in the 13th century there was an explicit attempt to separate the holdings into different, compact blocks.[19] (*SITI* 42; *ARE* 1905:2).

Originally much of the land controlled by the temples was in the hands of the brāhmaṇa assembly of Maturāntaka-caturvēdimaṅgalam. Earlier transactions involved sales of land by the brāhmaṇa assembly to the temple directly or through intermediary donors, and the growth in temple lands was probably inversely proportional to a decrease in the lands of the brāhmaṇa assembly during the later Cōḻa period (*SII* VII: 139-42, 864, 868, 893: *ARE* 1921:311, 322, 338, 349). Temple lands, accumulated from plots within the lands of the brāhmaṇas, intermingled with those lands remaining with the brāhmaṇas. Additional lands interspersed among the lands of the temples or of the brāhmaṇas belonged to persons or groups connected to the temples or other religious institutions. Sections of land were given to the *kaikkōlars* who worked (probably as security personnel) at the temples (*ARE* 1921:347; *ARE* 1934-35; 253). Other lands mentioned as boundaries refer to endowments for monasteries, Jain establishments, or lesser Hindu deities.[20] With the exception of one land apparently set aside as a secular *jīvitam* or service tenure (*ARE* 1905; 2), lands for religious institutions and personnel seem to have formed a solid block, especially in the stretch of lands along the Pennai River.

Although there is a striking concentration of lands in the hands of religious personnel along the river and near the temples, there is an equally striking absence of temple lands in areas to the south. The agricultural fields watered by the large lake do not appear in the donative inscriptions, although cultivation was occurring in those fields during the Cōḻa period. References to nearby agricultural groups (*ūrār*) in temple donations (*SII* VII: 858, 880, 886, 889) parallel a complete lack of references to *ūrār* from Tirukkoyilur. There was, then, a bifurcation of roles between the town with the two temples on the one hand and the agricultural settlements on the other. Tirukkovalur was a separated ritual centre, controlled by high-caste ritual personnel, and exerting great control over adjacent lands. The boundaries of this ritual centre were, however, quite circumscribed--a total land area of approximately 3.5 square kilometers--and there were few extensions of influence over places outside its immediate environs.[21]

Even within the lands that were controlled by the temple at Tirukkovalur, a variety of tenures limited the resources available for temple purposes. Four levels of control are visible:

1.) The temple received outright title to donated lands and also had

all taxes defrayed, allowing the temple to appropriate all produce from the lands after deducting production expenses including labor. This type of arrangement entailed the purchase of land from an original possessor, its alienation (*koṭu, viṭu*) to the temple, and explicit defrayment of taxes (*iṟaiyiḻiceytu*). An example is the selling of land by the Attaṉam-poṉṉūr-caturvēdimaṅgalam *sabhai* to a brāhmaṇa from Maṇalūr, who gave the land and arranged for abolition of taxes in order to support food offerings at temple festivals (*SII* VII: 142). The land became a "taxfree gift for the god" (*iṟaiyiḻi dēvadānam*) and the former owners could no longer collect fees for cultivation expenses (*nīr viḷai kūli*), indicating the alienation of cultivating rights along with ownership and taxes.

2.) The temple obtained a revenue grant allowing the transfer of all taxes directly to the temple instead of to a governing agency, but surplus produce beyond tax income was not included. This type of arrangement necessitated an official abolition of the land taxes by government agents or the deposit of a cash sum to capitalize future taxes on the land. The key to identifying this situation is reference to tax-deductions without reference to purchase or to bestowal of land (*ARE* 1921:345; *ARE* 1934-35; 245, 250).

3.) A gift to the god consisted of partial defrayment of land taxes. For example, Kiliyur Malaiyamāṉ gave two land donations in one year to the temple. The first series of lands included defrayment of irrigation labor (*nīr amañci*), all taxes in cash (*antarāyam*), and lesser "protection" taxes (*ciru pāṭikāval*). The greater "protection" tax (*perum pāṭikāval*), ubiquitous in the Tirukkoyilur area, was not defrayed.[22] The second series of lands included abolition of all taxes *except* the lesser protection tax (*SITI*:45).

4.) Arrangements with cultivators provided the temple with produce useful for temple rituals while investing the temple with no rights to either land or taxes. One record describes a flower garden set up by Ciriḷaṅkōp - periyavēḷāṉ, who was to harvest and provide coconuts to be sold to pay for daily worship. There is no mention of the transfer of the land, which remained with the donor (*SII* VII: 143).

Within the boundaries of the ritual center, control over lands was manifold and fragmentary. The expanding temples were centers of heterogeneous types of land rights and duties. Most lands probably directed defrayed tax income to the temples. Temple officials administered some lands outright as property of the god. Some private properties were legally required to set aside part of their non-taxable produce for the temple. Lands remaining with members of the brāhmana community, mixed with the temple lands, were undoubtedly subject to several types of cultivating arrangements, including subletting to tenants and employment of agricultural laborers. Several service groups such as security personnel (*kaikkōlar*) probably did not personally cultivate all the lands allotted to them (some of these lands in any case provided them only with tax income, and were cultivated by other persons), necessitating the participation of cultivating groups in the production process. The physical labor of tilling much of the land within the ritual center was the

job of cultivating groups, probably living in the settlements east of Tirukkovalur around the Śiva temple.

Tirukkoyilur offers a perspective on the dominance of religious institutions within the Cōḻa-period agrarian economy. Certainly the small area included within the ritual center was administratively controlled by brāhmaṇas and temple administrations. However, their economic influence outside the area of the ritual center was low. The deities possessed few rights to lands beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the town--limited in the inscriptions to small parcels in only five villages. Those villages known to be the bounding places of Tirukkovalur had no known connection with the temple. But even within the boundaries of Tirukkovalur there were large expanses of cultivable lands located east of the big lake which were independent of the temple. The tendency around Tirukkovalur was to concentrate most temple lands within a fairly narrow band irrigated by the old channels connected with the small lake.[23]

Tirukkoyilur was an old settlement, with a small, independent irrigation system, which along with its archaic economy accumulated sacred myths and sites. The sanctity of the place attracted the patronage of secular interests outside Tirukkoyilur. As in the case of Vadakadu, where the earliest records describe the grant to a brāhmaṇa community, the lands around the original Visnu temple were the domain of an early *brahmadēyam*. During the Cōḻa period, the interests of the brāhmaṇa community slowly coalesced into the administration of the temple, as members of the *brahmadēyam* progressively alienated their lands to the temple. Simultaneously, the donations of secular notables gave to the temples greater access to the agrarian resources from more and more lands within the boundaries of Tirukkovalur. The leaders in this parade of donations were local rulers of the Tirukkoyilur area, first the Milāṭu lords and then the Malaiyamāṉ rulers, but other notables also participated. As at Vadakadu, local mercantile interests were a continuing but subsidiary source of donated lands. The piecemeal accumulation of land rights at Tirukkoyilur resulted in a variegated control of lands, unlike Vadakadu where the bulk of land donations was the work of a few agencies and involved ownership of lands by the temple. The transfer of donated funds into Tirukkoyilur did not result in the penetration of its temple administrations into larger areas, but led instead to an increasing concentration of heterogeneous holdings within the ritual center.

The relatively circumscribed spatial extent of temple land control within Tirukkoyilur nevertheless contains several hints of local agrarian expansion. The locations of the earliest endowments mostly east of the Viṣṇu temple may portray the early reliance on irrigation waters flowing east from the small lake. But even at an early period, small pieces of land farther to the west were the subject of land donations, a phenomenon that increased in subsequent centuries. The later concentration of donations in the far west may represent an ongoing creation of distant, peripheral cultivable fields.[24] A related development is the later reference to a village for the temple--

Panriyūr--in the peripheral zone south of the small lake, bounding the lands of the brahmanas. The association of later Cōla temple lands with new cultivable fields was earlier seen in the lands at Vadakadu.

III. Conclusion: The Development of Temple Estates and Temple Urbanism

The study of lands at Vaḍakāḍu and Tirukkōyilūr suggests a developmental sequence in the rise of local temple landholding networks. At both sites, the earliest discernible village tenure is the *brahmadēyam*, or endowment for a brāhmaṇa community, entailing at least the control of taxation revenue and probably outright ownership of the land as well.[25] At Tirukkoyilur the existence of the *brahmadēyam* may go back to the ninth century; at Vadakadu the *brahmadēyam* originated perhaps in the tenth century. The lands specifically designated for the support of the brāhmaṇa community soon began to change into endowments for the local temple, as acts of devotion by the brāhmaṇas themselves or sale to other devotees led to gifts for the gods. At Vadakadu this change was accomplished in one official action, when the Cola king agreed to alter the original *brahmadēyam* grant to an endowment for the temple. At Tirukkoyilur the process was of longer duration and occurred through numerous small donations. In both places, by the end of the 13th century A.D., the early grants for the brahmana communities had been totally or partially subsumed under the landholding rights of local deities.

The process of alteration of land control from the brāhmaṇa endowment to the gods was intimately connected with an expansion of the local agrarian economies around the temples. The stories associated with early Tirukkoyilur describe a small, settled area along the Pennai River, surrounded by wastes. This rather legendary account is corroborated by the locations of early temple lands in Tirukkoyilur, clustered in a small area in the eastern part of the village. In Vadakadu, the earliest endowments similarly suggest a relatively circumscribed cultivable area surrounded by waste land. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, donations to the temples concentrated on lands that lay on the peripheries of previously-donated lands, in areas where the development of irrigation facilities progressively opened up new lands for wet agriculture. In Vadakadu the new lands lay in the north, around a major irrigation channel that may have been newly constructed. In Tirukkoyilur the later concentration of donated lands in the far west of the village, and the new endowment called Panriyur in the southwest, suggest an expanding base of cultivation on the edges of older agricultural tracts.

The agents responsible for agrarian expansion through the temples were originally influential political actors. The early grants of tax-free status or outright land control to brahmana communities and then to temples were the result of royal orders. The Cōla kings were major figures in the continuation and expansion of a system of religious largesse, focused on the ritual precedence of brāhmaṇas, that the earlier Pallava kings had made important in the seventh century. (Stein 1980, 72-89; Disks 1976,125-57). Subsequent to the original endowments, other local

political powers featured prominently in the land donations going to the temples. Around Vadakadu, the leaders called Cōḻiyavaraiyaṉ alienated lands in Nampaṅkuṟicci west of the early *dēvadānam* lands. Around Tiṛukkoyilur, the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs took the lead in a movement by a number of *veḷḷāḷar* cultivating leaders to alienate land and land rights to the temples. In both locations the largesse of the local leaders was intimately connected with their desire to pose,in the manner of the Cōḻa kings, as patrons of religious devotion in major local religious centers. At Vadakadu the Cōḻiyavaraiyaṉ chiefs seem to have been relative newcomers, tracing their original homes to the northern area of Tamil Nadu. When they took control of the area around Vadakadu in the later stages of Cōḻa rule, they legitimated their authority through ostentatious display at the local temple. At Tirukkoyilur, the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs came to power around 1070 on the heels of the dynastic revolution connected with the accession of Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa I (Srinivasan 1980:147 ff). The new local overlords continued the ancient pattern of choosing Tirukkoyilur as a central point for the control of the marches on the northern side of the Cōḻa homeland. As part of their strategy for legitimation, they gave liberally for the deities at Tirukkoyilur, making the place their ritual center.

The role of brahmanas remained large, and eventually became crucial, in the expansion of temple lands and the dominance of temple landholding networks in local economy. When *brahmadēyam* grants were converted into grants for the gods, the brāhmaṇas performing ritual services in the neighborhood continued to perform their functions through the temples rather than as independent landowners. The most probable process was the parcelling of revenue from designated plots of *devadānam* land to support brāhmaṇas entering into service of the god as administrative staff or as ritual performers. From these positions of greater security, protected by the inviolate nature of *dēvadānam* lands, the brāhmaṇas could continue to dominate local economy. They took responsibility for the expansion of temple incomes through the development of peripheral donated lands into irrigated rice lands yielding reliable income for temple rituals. From their positions within the temples the brahmanas were able to initiate or benefit from the construction of new irrigation facilities and to control newer areas of wet agriculture. This phenomenon is visible at Vadakadu, where donations of land in later times north of the temple lay among the fields controlled by brāhmaṇas. In this manner the brāhmaṇa communities around growing temples benefitted from the largesse of secular donors and used newly-donated lands as platforms for the continuing expansion of local economy either in the name of the god or in their own names.

The landowning networks of Cōḻa-period temples rested on a variety of tenurial arrangements. The simplest and most lucrative arrangement was at Vadakadu, where the deity accumulated holdings that were his own property *(kāṇi)* and also tax-free *(iṟaiyiḻi)*. These rights, obtained in the original royal grant and continually obtained through later grants, allowed the appropriation of agrarian surplus normally heading to the king (the "upper share" or *mēlvāram*) and the remaining produce

(the "lower share" or *kīlvāram*) which, deducting expenses for supplies and arrangements for either tenants or hired labor, could contain further surpluses.[26] At Tirukkoyilur also such arrangements existed, but a more complicated series of rights provided resources for running temple rituals. The rights consisted mostly of full or partial allocation of tax revenues to the temple. Other, less common procedures entailed the forwarding of portions of produce from the lower shares of certain fields. The Tirukkoyilur area presents a complicated melange of tenures, with the various temple perquisites lying alongside remaining holdings of the *brahmadēyam*, land held as a service grant *(jīvitam)*, and grants for the support of security personnel. The foci for all these grants were the temples; the concentration of these many grants in the neighborhood of the temples created a local hegemony in the name of the gods that was as powerful in Tirukkoyilur as the complete possession of land was in smaller Vadakadu.

During the Cōḻa period the landholding networks of the temples studied here were restricted in their spatial extent. The main holdings lay in the immediate vicinity of the temple sites, with only smaller plots of land in more distant villages. Despite the numerous donations recorded at Tirukkoyilur and its importantce as the ritual seat of the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs, the temple lands lay within relatively small spatial parameters. The lands of cultivating groups were segregated from the lands connected to the temple, although cultivators were undoubtedly tilling even the lands of the gods. The early segregation of the temple lands is consistent with the purposes of the donations, which served to manifest the ritual precedence of secular donors and preserved the exclusivity of brāhmaṇa communities. The relatively small extent of temple landholdings in the Cōḻa period contrasts markedly with the much wider spaces where cultivation was carried on under the auspices of *veḷḷāḷar* groups with little official connection to religious institutions. The construction of more extensive temple estates, which grew to large proportions in the post-Cōḻa period, was a later process involving brāhmaṇas connected with temple staffs, who expanded temple prerogatives for the benefit of themselves and the god by penetrating farther into the surrounding waste lands.[27]

The agrarian resources flowing into the Cōḻa temples through land donations were part of growing redistribution system with the temples at the center. The participation of merchants *(nagarattār)* in the system of temple donations points to a monetized network, parallelling and frequently intersecting with agrarian influence. Merchants appear most often in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as donors and recipients of gifts in money or precious metals. The land donations of mercantile groups in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though relatively small, indicate that there were close contacts between landowning and commercial groups. Through their ramified trade contacts, merchants brought luxury goods necessary for elaborate temple rituals and operated in the wider economy as traders in basic commodities. Serving both commercial and temple needs were different groups of artisans--carpenters, metalworkers, goldsmiths, and weavers--who

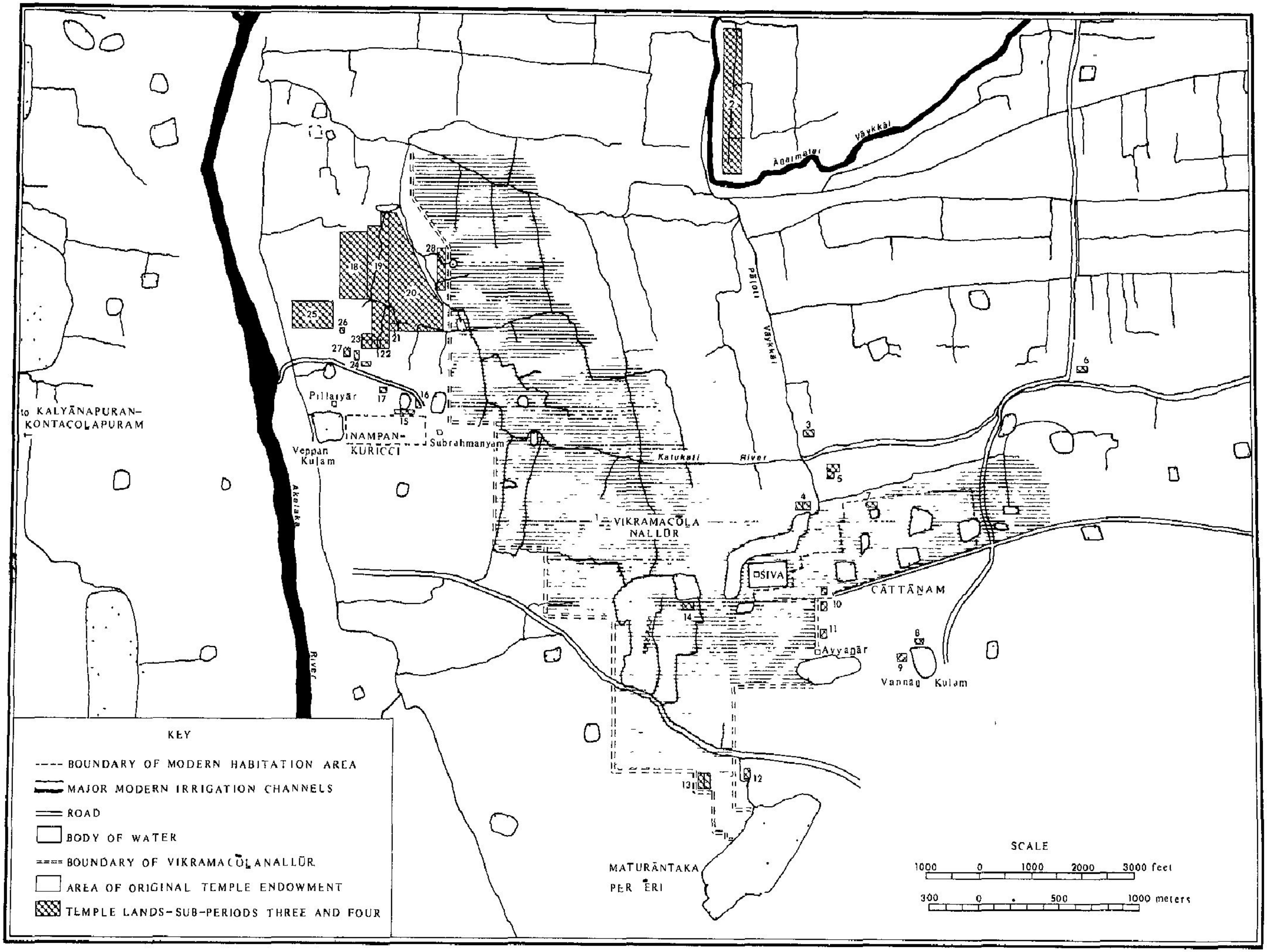
congregated in the precincts of the major temples. Clustered around the temple sites were settlements of these trading and artisan communities, interacting with neighboring brahmana and cultivating communities (Nagaswamy 1978(a)). Isolated Vadakadu was the focus for a variety of transactions, but Tirukkoyilur exemplifies a higher level of occupational specialization and commercial activity, in addition to its dynamic agrarian economy. The strategic location of Tirukkoyilur, between medieval Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Cōḻamaṇḍalam, transformed the sacred site into a *nagaram* and ritual center for a chiefly lineage.

The greater concentration of different occupational and caste groups in the larger medieval settlement did not alter the basic settlement patterns of the village during the Cōḻa period. Houses may have lined the streets of the different neighborhoods within the habitation areas, but the built-up areas were interspersed with spaces given over to cultivation and gardens. This pattern is visible at Tirukkoyilur, where donations within the *ampalam* east of the temple lay among cultivable fields scattered around the brahmanas' houses. East of the *ampalam* were a number of different neighborhoods where cultivating groups lived, and one or more commercial neighborhoods also lay nearby. An expansion of population must have accompanied agrarian and commercial growth, within a ramified network of interactions lending an urban character to the temple centers. But increased population remained concentrated within the spatial patterns characteristic of the village, where cultivated areas were not totally separated from habitation areas. The village-like character of medieval Vadakadu has been preserved in the modern place which has remained on the peripheries of change. Medieval Tirukkoyilur was the scene of a more intense "temple urbanism", which until the thirteenth century had not led to a major alteration of its village settlement pattern.

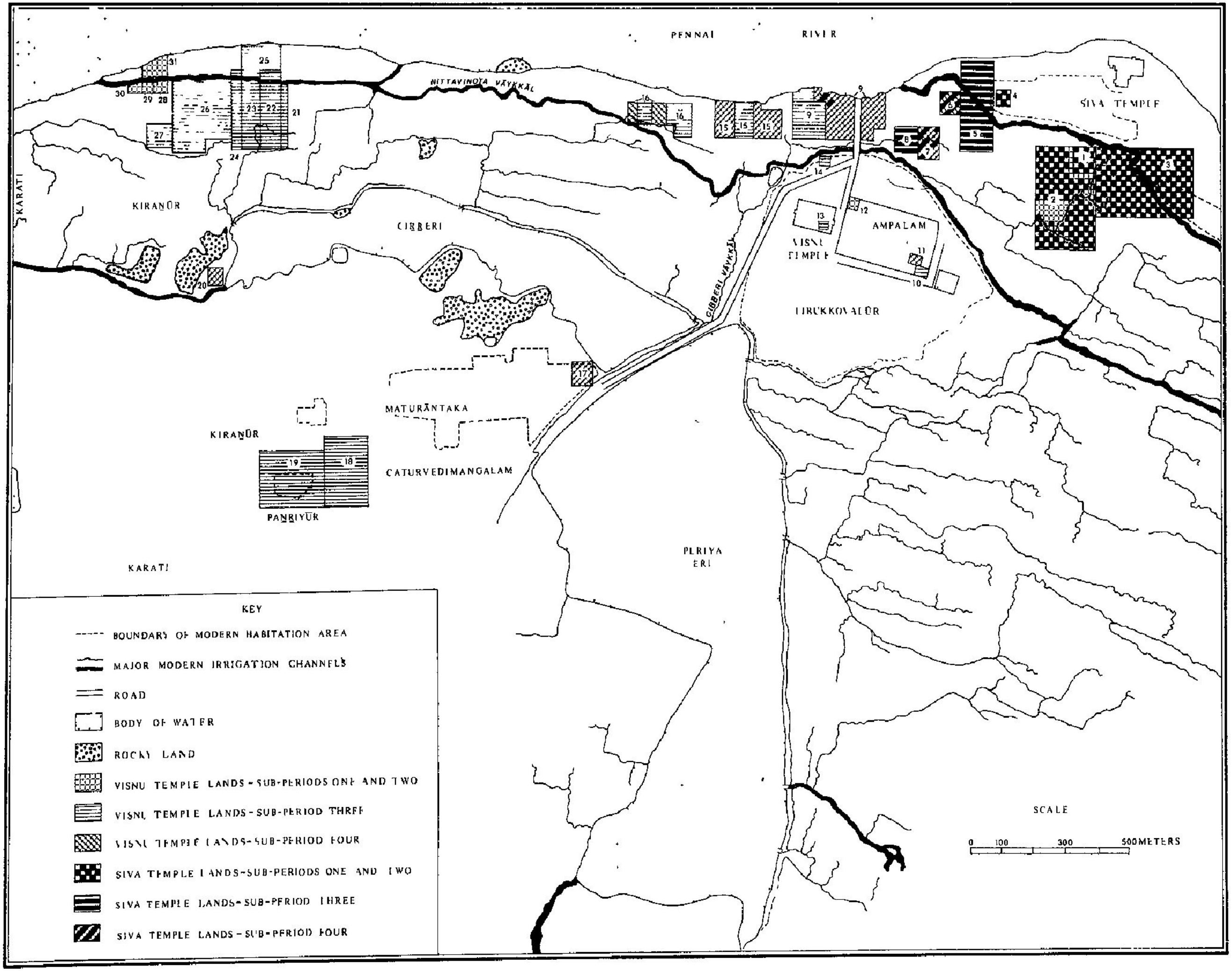
This study has attempted to reconstruct village geography and landholding developments through the use of boundary details in Cōḻa-period inscriptions. The richness of the data contained in those scattered references allows portrayal of medieval settlement and irrigation patterns, and changes in the scale and complexity of human activity. Careful field work, united with in-depth study of physical space and inscriptional materials, yields a surprising amount of information on the structure and dynamics of Cōḻa society, economy and politics. Certainly there are many other places in the ocean of medieval inscriptions where even more records and more elaborate field work would yield findings and analyses comparable to the present effort. The comparison of a number of studies could form the basis for more sophisticated theories of agrarian and urban development in pre-modern India.

Keys to the Maps

The following keys list the inscriptions which contain information on the location of temple lands during the Cōḻa period. The numbers in this key refer to the numbers of the lands in Maps One and Two. The references in the keys contain, where appropriate, the names of



KEY
BOUNDARY OF MODERN HABITATION AREA
MAJOR MODERN IRRIGATION CHANNELS
ROAD
BODY OF WATER
BOUNDARY OF VIKRAMACŌLANALLŪR
AREA OF ORIGINAL TEMPLE ENDOWMENT
TEMPLE LANDS–SUB-PERIODS THREE AND FOUR
SCALE
1000 0 1000 2000 3000 feet
300 0 500 1000 meters
to KALYĀNAPURAN-KONTACOLAPURAM
Akelaka River
Āṇaimaṭai Vāykkāl
Pāloti Vāykkāl
Katukaṭi River
VIKRAMACŌLA NALLŪR
SIVA
CĀTTĀṆAM
Ayyaṉār
Vannag Kulam
MATURĀNTAKA PER ERI
Pillaiyār
INAMPAN-KURICCI
Subrahmanyam
Veppan Kulam


PENNAI RIVER
NITTAVINOTA VĀYKKĀL
ŚIVA TEMPLE
AMPALAM
VIṢṆU TEMPLE
TIRUKKOVALŪR
CIḺḺERI VĀYKKĀL
CIḺḺERI
KIRAṈŪR
KARATI
MATURĀNTAKA
CATURVEDIMANGALAM
KIRAṈŪR
PAṈṈIYŪR
KARATI
PERIYA ERI
KEY
BOUNDARY OF MODERN HABITATION AREA
MAJOR MODERN IRRIGATION CHANNELS
ROAD
BODY OF WATER
ROCKY LAND
VIṢṆU TEMPLE LANDS - SUB-PERIODS ONE AND TWO
VIṢṆU TEMPLE LANDS - SUB-PERIOD THREE
VIṢṆU TEMPLE LANDS - SUB-PERIOD FOUR
ŚIVA TEMPLE LANDS - SUB-PERIODS ONE AND TWO
ŚIVA TEMPLE LANDS - SUB-PERIOD THREE
ŚIVA TEMPLE LANDS - SUB-PERIOD FOUR
SCALE
0 100 300 500METERS

the medieval lands or inscriptional details useful in placing the lands on the maps.

Key to Map One

1. The earliest *dēvadānam* formed from Cāttāṉam alias Kēraḷa-kulacāṉi-caturvēdimaṅgalam (7 *velis*), Vikkıramacōḷa-nallūr (II *velis*), and Śrīkaraṇanallūr (1/4 *veli*) (*TK* 181).
2. *TK* 182, 183, 209, 224.
3. *TK* 182, lines 32-34.
4. *TK* 198, lines 7-8, 227-35.
5. *TK* 182, lines 35-39; *TK* 198, lines 2-4.
6. Land east of the Muṉṉūṟṟuvaṉ big road (*TK* 198, lines 266-73).
7. Land north of the vaṇṇattāṉ-kulam (*TK* 198, lines 213-15).
8. Land north of the vaṇṇār-kuḷam (*ARE* 1908:213).
9. Land west of the vaṇṇār-kulam (*TK* 198, lines 217-26).
10. Lands flanking the big road (*peru vaḻi*) including the cirāma--mayakkal (*TK* 181; ARE 1908:215).
11. Land north of the small channel (*oḻukkai*) going to the Aıyyaṉ--kiṭaṅku uṭaıyār temple (*TK* 181; *ARE* 1908:213).
12. Land north of the Maturāntaka big lake and south of the big road (*TK* 181, 196).
13. Lands north of the Maturāntaka big lake, including the *taṭṭāṉ cey* (*TK* 181; 198, lines 244-65).
14. Land in the fifth *vāykkal*'s east section (*TK* 198, line 9).
15. Lands in Nampaṅkuṟicci near the Piḷḷaiyār-kuḷam and south of the small channel (*oḻukkai)* of the big road (*TK* 198, lines 63-84).
16. Land in Nampaṅkuṟicci west and south of the small channel of the big road (*TK* 198, lines 84-102).
17. Land north of the assembly (*maṉṟu)* of Nampaṅkuṟicci and west of the big road (*TK* 198, lines 45-50).
18. Three blocks of land lying north of the veppaṉ-kuḷam, south of the small channel going to the marakkāṭi - kuḷam, west of the Āṇṭāṉ-empal (*TK* 198, lines 117-50).
19. The Āṇṭāṉ-empal (*TK* 198, lines 150-59).
20. Lands totalling 1 3/4 *veli* belonging to Tāṉṭinallūr, lying east of the Āṇṭār - empal and west of the Kaṭukali River (*TK* 198, lines 159-70).
21. Land west of Pantāṉṭinallūr, north of the big road going south, east of the lands of Āṇṭār piracaṉṉa tēvar, and south of the kiḻāṉ kaṇṇāṟu (*TK* 198, lines 202-12).
22. Several lands including the malai tital and the nāṟṟaṅ-kāl, north

of a small channel delivering water into the Katukali River (*TK* 198, lines 52-63).

23. Several small lands associated with the third *vāykkal* lie west of the Nārrañ - kāl - akavattān āntān-ōtai (lake) (*ARE* 1908:211).

24. Lands south of the third *vāykkal* (*ARE*1908:211).

25. Lands totalling 3/4 *vēli* lie east of the Akalaka big river, (north) of the big road heading toward Kalyanapurankondacolapuram, and north of the kilān - kannāru (*TK* 198, lines 180-91)

26. Land south of the kilān - kannāru (*TK* 198, lines 191-201).

27. Land east of the malai - kulam and north of the road to Kalyanapurankontacōlapuram (*TK* 198, lines 170-80).

28. Threelands, connected by Tāntinallūr and the second *vāykkal*, lie east of the Katukali River and west of the ōtai (*TK* 198, lines 25-37).

Key to Map Two

1. Land totalling 10 *mā* lies south and west of the Tiruvirattāna talai vāy, in the east fields of Tirukkovalur (*SII* 7:878).

2. The kaliyak kalani forms part of the lands of Putupperūr and Unankalpūnti (*SII* 7:144, 857; *EI* 7, pp. 142-43).

3. Lands in Unankalpūnti (*SII* 7:863, 868).

4. Land bounded on the south by the Tiruvirattāna *vāykkāl* and on the east by land sold by Unankalpūnti (*SII 7:864).*

5. Lands near the river include the Turkaiyār vattam, connected to Tevankuti (*SITI* 44, 45).

6. Cuppiramanniya pillaiyār tevatānam (*ARE* 1905:2).

7. Lands flanking the cirrēri *vāykkāl* east of the *tiru vīti,* near the cittiramēli pillaiyār tēvatānam (*ARE* 1905:2).

8. Lands flanking the cirreri *vāykkāl* east of the *tiru vīti* (*SII* 7:913, 917).

9. Lands north of the cirreri *vāykkāl* and south of the river include all the following places (*ARE*1905:2; *ARE*1921:311):

Pallāyuta vallavan tiru nantavanam
Ponnampala kūttan tiru nantavanam
Amarātavallān tiru nantavanam
Naracimhapanam tiru nantavanam
Vānaviccātara tiru nantavanam
Vīra cōlan tiru nantavanam
Tirumaturai utaiyār tēvatānam
Tiruvītaiyāttam
Pūccūttu kāl
Tirumañcana olukkai
Tiru vitaikali vati
Tiruppatalicuram utaiyār tevatānam
Ciru pulam
Cuttamalli perum palliccantam

10. A house site connected with the *ampalam* (*ARE* 1921:311).

11. The Vennaik kūttan vilākam (*ARE* 1921:339).

12. A house site north of the *ampalam* and the temple's east gate (*SII* 7:141).

13. A flower garden within the four walls of the temple (*ARE* 1921-:348).

14. The śrī vāmanac cēri (*SII* 7:137).

15. Lands south of the Pennai River and north of the Nittavinōta *vāykkāl* include the following places (*SII* 46, *ARE* 1921:318, 338):

Cattur kantam tiru nantavanam
Mativallān tiru nantavanam
Matapuram
Pūccūttu kāl

16. A block of lands between the river and the lake, near the Nitavinōta *vāykkāl*, includes the following places (*SII* 7:137; *ARE* 1921:315, 318):

Metu
Kīl kitanku
Karru kā
Tiru cakkara vilākam
Katampa kāl
Ciru pulattu tōttam
Nanti talai vāy
Pirappañ cey

17. Land of one *veli* next to the embankment separating the two lakes (*natuvir periya karai*) (*ARE* 1921:341).

18, 19. Panriyūr and the mantai kēni (*SII* 7:137; *ARE* 1921:345).

20. One *veli* of land within Comāci kiranūr lies near the western end of the cirrēri and the nāraik kal (*ARE* 1921:345).

21. Lands between the Nittavinōta *vāykkāl* and the small lake bank lie east of number 22 below (*ARE*1921:211).

22. Lands in the west kalani west of the pārai totalling two *velies* (*ARE*1921:322).

23. Lands in the west kalani, south of the Nittavinōta *vāykkāl* west of the kannik kal going north from the lake (*ARE* 1934-35:245).

24. Land lying near the nāraik kal and the nāka talai vāy (emptying into the small lake) (*ARE* 1921:340=*SITI* 64).

25. The Jayankontacōlan nantavanan (*ARE* 1921:322,340).

26. Land north of Comāci kiranūr's boundary south of the Nittavinōta *vāykkāl* (*SII 7:137*).

27. The Tiruvātirai pulam (*SII* 7:137).

28. Land dedicated for holy food (*SII* 7:137).

29,30. Three *mā* of land south of the Nittavinota *vāykkāl* (*SII 7:139*).

31. A piece of land in the levelled land (*kollai nilam*) of the west vāyppulam, lying north of the *vāykkāl* starting from the big tūmpu (sluice) (*SII* 7:141).

NOTES

1. The excavations have yielded a number of artifacts and the preliminary plans of a multi-storied brick structure in mounds west of the temple.

2. These two sites contained the most promising data for geographical reconstruction within a larger data base of 2,400 Cōḷa-period inscriptions from five taluks in central Tamil Nadu. For discussions of that larger data base see Heitzman (1985).

3. The records from both study sites include published inscriptions and either transcripts or estampages available at the Indian Epigraphy Office in Mysore. Many thanks to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India, who kindly allowed access to unpublished materials in 1983.

4. This place is also known as Koyilur, or by the combinative form Vaḍakāḍukōyilūr. The 1932 survey maps show the name as Kōvilkāḍu.

5. Information on geography and modern landowning at Vadakadu was gathered by Heitzman and Rajagopal during one afternoon in 1983, and by Rajagopal during several days in 1984. Special thanks to N. Sethuraman, who provided valuable logistical help during our first visit to Vadakadu. Informants at Vadakadu included T. Murugesa Desikar and A. Margamurti Ayyar. According to the local informants, large blocks of land belonging to Mantrapuresvara Swāmy in other villages were sold during the early twentieth century to a member of a Muslim mercantile community.

6. The published source for all inscriptions at Vadakadu is R. Nagaswamy, ed., *Tirutturaippūṇti kalveṭṭukkaḷ (TK)* (Madras: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 1978). The inscriptions from that source used for this study are as follows; *TK* 181, 182, 183, 196, 198; *ARE* 1908: 203, 205, 209, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216.

   Although *Tirutturaippūṇti kalveṭṭukkaḷ* ostensibly publishes all the inscriptions from the Mantrapureśvara Swāmy temple, many of the entries simply repeat the short summaries from the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* of 1908. The reason for this shortcoming is that several medieval structures at Vadakadu were renovated, and their inscriptions lost, after 1908. The only surviving records of these missing inscriptions exist in the form of estampages and a few transcripts in the Epigraphy Office in Mysore. The editors of *Tirutturaippūṇti kalveṭṭukkaḷ* were unable to publish from the Mysore records. Heitzman was able to see them through the kind offices of Dr. Ramesh and his staff.

7. Paiyyūr nāḍu did not lie in Cōḷamaṇḍalam. The honorific title Pallavaraiyaṉ suggests an association with Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in northern Tamil Nadu, where the Pallavas had earlier held sway. Another donation at Vadakadu by a certain Atittatevan from Vellūr in Paiyyur kōṭṭam places the area in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (*TK* 214).

8. Out of eight exterior villages seven may be located with some degree of accuracy. Three seem to have lain in the neighborhood of the temple. One lay about five kilometers to the east. One lay about twelve kilometers to the southwest, on the route of the modern road heading down the coast. Two lay near Tirutturaippundi, about 20 kilometers to the northwest.

Place yielding lands	Location
Cuttavalli CVM	79°30.5' 10°27.5'
Colativakaranallur	south of Cattanam
Iracentiracolapuram	south of Cattanam
Konranallur and Tevuntiruvu-mutaiyanallur	a hamlet of Cattanam
Kulottunkacolanallur	west of Tirutturaippundi
Malanankuti	not located
Uppur ana Vikkirama colanpattanam	79°33' 10°19'
unnamed village yielding one-half veli, near modern Rajamadam	79°21' 10°19'

9. The published version of *TK* 198 provides variant spellings for the name of this place: Pantanatinallūr, Pantāṉṭinallūr, Pāṉṭinallūr, Tāṉṭinallūr.

10. The identification of the Pāṭoti *vāykkāl*, which in turn situates the thirteenth-century lands north of the temple, depends on references to its southern end near the temple (*TK* 182, lines 35-39; 198, lines 2-4), and to its origin in the north resembling exactly the modern configuration of the Teṟkōṭi *vāykkāl* arising in the Kaṇḍappirichchāṉ (*TK* 182, 183, 209, 224).

11. Fifty-three lines in *TK* 181 describe in detail the boundaries of the original endowment for the temple comprising Vikkirama-cōḻanallūr and Cāttāṉam, totalling 18 *velis* of land. These boundaries contain references to a number of landmarks on the southern side of modern Vadakadu village and on the west past Nampaṅkuṟicci. The northern and eastern boundaries in the inscription are unfortuanately fragmentary, but if they existed at all they were contained within only five short lines (62-67) with doubtful readings. The short section (or none at all) devoted to the northern and eastern boundaries contrasts markedly with the detailed descriptions of other boundaries.

12. Since the Cōḻa capture of Kalyāṇapuri, capital of the Western Chāḷukyas, took place during the 11th century, the naming (and perhaps the foundation) of Kalyāṇapuraṅkoṇṭacōḻanallūr ("the temple village of the Cōḻa who took Kalyāṇapuram") probably occurred during that time.

13. A number of references to donated lands could not be located exactly on Map 1, but many of these references include geographic details that place the lands in close proximity to those lands that have been located. Map 1 thus presents an accurate if incomplete picture of the donated lands, according to surviving records. The positions of the lands on this map are similarly not exact, but probably do not deviate from medieval positions by more than 100 meters.

14. The Emperumāṉ Jīyar monastery is located on the north side of the street heading east from the eastern entrance to the Vishṇu temple. The modern monastery exists directly in the center of the area called *ampalam* during the Cōḻa period. This is a striking, but not uncommon, example of the longevity of brahmana settlement patterns and ritual control, transformed from the original *brahmadēyam* and *sabhai* systems into late medieval monastic institutions.

15. The inscriptions used for the construction of map 2 include the following:

Tirukkōyilūr	*SII*,7, Nos 136, 137 139, 140, 141, 142
	EI,7, pp. 142-43,143-44
	SITI, No. 64
	*ARE*1905, Nos. 2; 1921 Nos. 309, 311, 315, 318 322, 332, 338, 339, 340 341, 342, 343, 345, 348 349, 353; 1934-35: 245, 246, 250
Kīlūr	*SII*,7, Nos. 863, 864, 868, 872, 874, 878, 890, 893, 913, 917, 919, 922
	SITI, Nos. 42, 44, 45, 46
	ARE 1905; No.11, 12, 20

16. All inscriptions in the Viṣṇu temple from the 12th century exist on the walls of the second *prākāram*. The earliest record on these walls is from the fifteenth year of Vikramacōḻa (*ARE* 1921:349).

17. The earliest reference to the Tirukkovalur *sabhai* comes from the twenty-first regnal year of the Rāshṭrakūta king Krishṇa III, in the mid-tenth century (*SII*, 7, No. 897).

18. Many of the lands between the river and the Viṣṇu temple may actually have been controlled by the Viṣṇu temple quite early in the Cōḻa period or earlier, but occur in the inscriptional record only in later transactions.

The total extent of temple lands in these areas may have amounted to twice the amount portrayed on map 2, since only about half of the total recorded lands have been located. One inscription, for example, mentions temple lands of 11.25 *velis* in the area north of the small lake, and 10 *velis* in Kilanur--none of which have been located on map 9(*ARE* 1921, No.340 = *SITI*, No 64). The contexts of the unlocated lands suggest, however, positions very close to those of the located lands.

19. This attempt at mutual exclusion in the late Cōḻa period is reminiscent of similar trends toward sectarian divisions manifest at Tirumeyyam in southern Pudukkōṭṭai district (Tirumalai, 1981, pp. 119-24).

20. *Maṭapuram--ARE* 1921:318, 349; *paḷḷiccantam--SII* 7:890, *ARE* 1905:2= *SITI* 42; *cuppiramaṇiya piḷḷaiyār--ARE* 1905:2.

21. Lands outside the immediate area of Tirukkoyilur providing resources to the temple include:

place name	Location	
Ariyur	79°10'	11°52'
Aviyūr	79°4.5'	11°56.5'
Karikālacōḻanallūr	79°10'	11°59'
Marutūr	not located	
Pullālippuram	not located	

22. A study of Cōḷa terms based on all published inscriptions found *pāṭikāval* terms exclusively concentrated in medieval Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam, the northern section of modern Tamil Nadu (Noboru Karashima 1984). In a study of Cōḷa-period records from five *taluks* in Cōḷamaṇḍalam, the central section of modern Tamil Nadu, 46 out of 54 references (85%) to *pāṭikāval* taxes came from Tirukkoyilur taluk (Heitzman, "Gifts of Power," pp. 400-01, 547). The Tirukkoyilur area lay in Naḍuvil ("middle") Nadu, between and at times forming part of both Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam and Cōḷamaṇḍalam (Subbarayalu, 1973; pp. 305-06).

23. Informants at Tirukkoyilur indicated that the Visnu temple presently holds only 10 acres of land directly north of the temple along the river--those lands comprising the medieval holdings of numbers 9 and 15 on Map 2. All other temple lands were apparently alienated to the British East India Company during the nineteenth century. L. Thyagarajan found that the Siva temple presently controls no lands within the town, but possesses lands in several exterior villages. This segregation of lands perpetuates the divisions beginning in the twelfth century.

Informants at Tirukkoyilur included the head of the Emperumāṉ Jīyar monastery which administers the Visṇu temple, the retired accountant of Tirukkoyilur, and a number of instructors at a local high school. Thanks to all of these people and to L. Thyagarajan and to Ram Anirai Kavalan for arranging the interviews with them.

24. The locations of temple lands suggest that many of the lands were poorly-suited for rice agriculture. The block in the far west was near the edge of the irrigation system running from the small lake. Lands east of the road to the river were on somewhat higher ground which even today is used for public buildings. Many of the flower gardens near the river remain dry lands *(puñcey)* today.

25. The present discussion clearly distinguishes between the ownership of land, the cultivation of land, and tax revenues from land, as three legally distinguishable rights and duties. Superior governments could allocate land taxes to brahmanas or gods without transfer of ownership. The payment of land taxes was the responsibility of persons who controlled land as private possession *(kāṇi),* although taxes could be commuted or defrayed through legal action. Owners of land were also its cultivators when they personally supervised agricultural operations, but they could make arrangements for tenant cultivators. See Tirumalai 1981 for discussions of land tenures.

26. Discussions of the term *kāṇi* and the several shares appear in Noboru Karashima, 1984, 17-20, 26-31, 34-35; Leonid Alayev, 1981.

27. Some of the procedures used by temple staffs during late medieval times appear in Burton Stein, 1960.

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Tamil Civilization
Vol.3 No.2&3

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARĀJA I FROM ŚRĪRAṄGAM

C.R.Srinivasan.

The accession of Rājarāja the Great marks an important epoch in the annals of the Cōḻa dynasty. It added a new dimension, grandeur and glory to the dynasty. Rājarāja's potent and personal ability pushed the arms beyond the seas and paved the way for the progressive imperialism which in turn resulted in the solid and stable Cōḻa bureaucracy, of course efficiently organised and administered. Rich in resources, the well-knit empire under this benovalent but brave king for more than three decades of his efficient and energetic rule brought a remarkable renaissance in the Tamil country in the various spheres of art, architecture, religion, literature and civil and military administration.

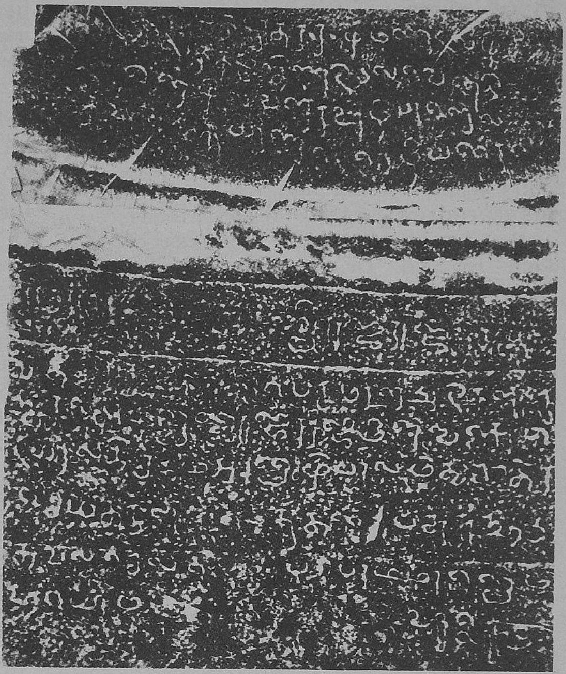
The aim of the present paper is to highlight an inscription of this king which extends his rule for a couple of years more. This will be discussed in sequel. This inscription (see plate) which is engraved on the hexagonal column of a pillar lying in front of the ancient paddy storing rooms in the *koṭṭāram*[1] in the Ranganatha temple was brought to my notice by K.R. Srinivasan, the Retired Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, during one of his recent visits to Mysore.

TEXT

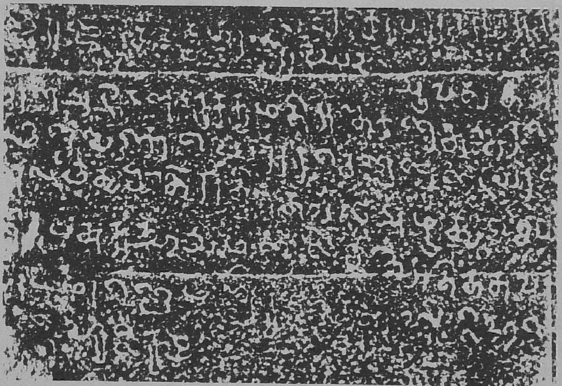
1\. .....*pugaḻtara Iḻamaṇḍalamu .....yilakkamu ntıṇḍıṟal veṉṟi leḻil valar ūḻiyulel.....*
yāṇde śeḻiyarai .... kōvirāja-rājarājakē.[sa] rıvarmarāṉa Śrī Rāja-
rājadēvarku yāṇḍu 32 āvadu [Tiruvaraṅgattup] perumāl adiga [ḷḷu]kku
Madirāntakaṉ Sundarasōḻaṉ-āṉa Rājarāja
Iḷaṅgōvēlār sēṉāṉaḍaiyāl nıśadam nāṇāli pālamidu Chandırādittaval amudu
śeydaruluvadarkku taṉda kāśu 100 nūṟumṉāl Chandrādittaval Che [luttuvi]p
pōmmānōm Śrīrangattu sabhaiyōm [idu śrī Vaisṇa]va rakṣai

Strangely, this inscription (*ARE* 1953-54:370, *SII* XXIV:19) has not received the due attention of the scholars in spite of its inclusion in the recent publication of the Department.

The record which is slightly damaged in the beginning contains the most common and concise historical introduction commencing with *tirumagaḷ pōla* etc., usually found from the eighth regnal year onwards, wherein the chief events



No I "A Note on an Inscription of Rajaraja I from Srirangam"
Courtesy: ASI



No II "A Note on an Iscription of Rajaraja I from Srirangam"
Courtesy: ASI

of his eventful reign are recorded in set phrases --a novel idea conceived and bestowed to his successors to emulate and for posterity to recall and rely upon.

The object of the record is a gift of a hundred cows for the daily supply of four *nāḻi* of milk measured by the liquid measure called *Senānaḍai* for the *pālamudu* service to god Tiruvarangattu Perumānadigal i.e., Lord Śrī Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam by Madurāntakan Sundara cōḻan *alias* Rājarāja Ilaṅgōvēlār in the 32nd regnal year of Rājarāja I.

It is relevant to record here the observation made in the General introduction of *SII* (XXIV:iv). Commenting on the Cōḻa records in general and of Rājarāja in particular, the learned editor says, "A short but complete record of this king is furnished by an inscription (No.19) on a detached pillar now lying in the courtyard in front of the ancient paddy storage rooms. It is dated in his 32nd regnal year and mentions Sundara-cōḻa *alias* Rājarāja Ilaṅgōvēḻār as his subordinate, a circumstance that enables us to assign the record to Rājarāja I". This in my opinion sets at rest that this is a genuine record of Rājarāja I and on my careful scrutiny paleographically also this is agreeable or quite in conformity to the period to which it belongs. We may incidentally mention here that, besides this, we have about six records of Rājarāja ranging from 7th to 19th regnal years (*SII* XXIV; 13-18) barring some inscriptions where the date portion is lost. In addition to this, there are two records (*SII* XXIV: 21-22) of his son Rājēndra in which one is dated in the twelfth year and another in which the date is lost.

The significance of the record lies not in the fact of the donation made, but in the date portion of the epigraph. The students of history are aware of the fact that the illustrious reign of this great monarch came to a close in the 29th year as evidenced by a number of inscriptions engraved on the walls of the Bṛhadīśvara temple, Thanjavur. It is already known from other sources that Rājarāja I became the Crown Prince 'on some day following the 25th June 985 A.D.' The 29th regnal year on 1014 A.D. synchronises with the third year of his son Rājēndra I (*SII* II: 90) as he was made heir-apparent some time between 27th March and 7th July 1012 (*EI VIII:* 260).

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has brought to the notice of the scholars, as early as 1935, a record dated 31st year of Rājarāja I. This mutilated Kanyākumari inscription (*TAS* I: 168) of Rājarāja which is dated in the 31st year is engraved on the walls of the Guhanātha temple[2]. It refers to an establishment of a shed for supplying drinking water called Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḻan, a characteristic title adopted by Rājarāja I in the later years of his reign. It also records that the servants of the temple (*dēvakanmis*) of Rājarāja-Iśvaramuḍaiyār of Kumarikkaḻikkuḍi sold the land in Kumarikkaḻikkuḍi of the Purattāya nāḍu belonging to the Uttamacōḻa-Vaḷanāḍu a sub-division of the Rājarājappāṇḍi-nāḍu to the temple, to a body of persons called nārpatteṇṇāyiravar for the establishment of (*tannīr-pandal*) 'water pavilion' which was named 'Jayaṅgondacōḻan-taṇṇīrpandal' after the surname, the erection of *Kāvaṇam* and the plantation of useful trees in the area which might be enclosed (*suṟṟu-maḍaittu*) for the purpose. The phrase *Perumpugaḻ Kōvirājakēsari* in the

preamble and the mention of Uttama-sōḷappērēri (line.3) in the inscription undoubtedly show that it must be as old as, if not older than, the time of the king of this record. Therefore K.A.N.Sastri (1935:221) assigned this record to Rājarāja I. Later on, he had revised his opinion and assigned this record to Rājarāja II in his later editions. As this is a controversial record, we need not give much credence to this.

Let us now examine the views of the two scholars who advocate that A.D.1014 was the last year of Rājarāja's reign.

Sethuraman in his *Early Cōḷas* arrives at the conclusion that Rājarāja died in A.D.1014. He says that Āṇai-maṅgalam and other villages were granted on 7th October A.D.1005 to the Buddhist-Vihāra at Nagappattinam, better known as Cūḷāmaṇi-vihāra constructed by Māravijayōttuṅga Varmaṉ, the contemporary king of Śrīvijaya, with the permission of Rājarāja I. Later, when the construction of the *vihāra* was completed, Rājarāja was no more and his illustrious son confirmed the grant on copper plates known as Āṇaimaṅgalam copper plates. Sethuraman infers the demise of Rājarāja thus. "The date on which Rājēndra confirmed the grant is not given. It must have been engraved immediately after the death of Rājarāja. Probably it was engraved in the third year of Rājēndra. This can be inferred from Nāgappaṭṭiṇam Kāyōrahaṇasvāmi temple records of Rājēndra. These are in his 3rd year. The record states that an agent of the king of Śrīvijaya presented jewel set and precious stones to the silver image of Nāgai Āḻvār in Tirukkārōṇam temple of Nagappattinam". The agent could have also come to Nagappattinam to participate in the obsequies of Rājarāja and to convey the condolence of Śrī Vijaya king to the Cōḷas. At this time Rājēndra should have confirmed his father's grant and presented the copper plates to the agent of Śrī Vijaya.

The absence of the records subsequent to the 29th year of Rājarāja and the performance of *tulābhāra* and *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremonies respectively by the king and his queen Lokamahādēvi on the banks of the Kaveri near Kuṁbakōṇam, the last known two charitable acts of the emperor in his 29th year corresponding to A.D.1014 and the availability of the inscription of Rajendra his successor phenomenally and progressively from this time onwards are some of the reasons that had prompted T.V.S.Pandarattar in his *History of Later Cōḷas* to conclude that Rājarāja died in the year A.D.1014.

The conclusion drawn by the scholars mentioned above needs either modification or revision. From the paucity of the records after 29th regnal year, it should not be construed that the king had died. It is absolutely necessary to account for this inscription of Rājarāja I bearing the 32nd regnal year from Śrīraṅgam, which is in the heart of the Cōḷa-maṇḍalam or in other words very near to the Cōḷa capital. It is not possible to brush aside the Śrīraṅgam inscription on the grounds that it was a spurious record. It contains the relevant *prāsas-ti tirumagaḷ* etc., of the king and the characters also belong to the period of his reign.

It is shown in this paper that this inscription is dated in the 32nd year of Rājarāja which scholars have not taken note of. Sethuraman has confirmed the fact that Rājarāja I ascended the throne on 18th July 985. Adding 32 years of rule it can be conjecturally concluded that the last year of Rājarāja's reign is 32 which corresponds to 1017 A.D. It is to be admitted that between 29th and 32nd year, Rājarāja's inscriptions are not noticed anywhere else. This shows the growing influence of the heir-apparent or voluntary abdication of the throne in favour of his son Rājēndra or the emperor's disinclination to active politics or administration as the case may be.

NOTES

1. Koṭṭāram has another variant viz., Kottakāram which is derived from *Koshṭa+ agara* which means a granary *Neṟkūṭṭi nirai śeṟinda puri palavā nilai kottakārattil* (Periyapuranam *Idankali* 7). Also compare *padaikalakkottilum puḍaikkoṭṭāramum* Place where paddy and other grains are husked. *Tamil Lexicon*, pp 1128-29.
2. T.A.Gopinatha Rao attributes this epithet to Rājarāja II and assigns the corresponding date as A.D.1167.

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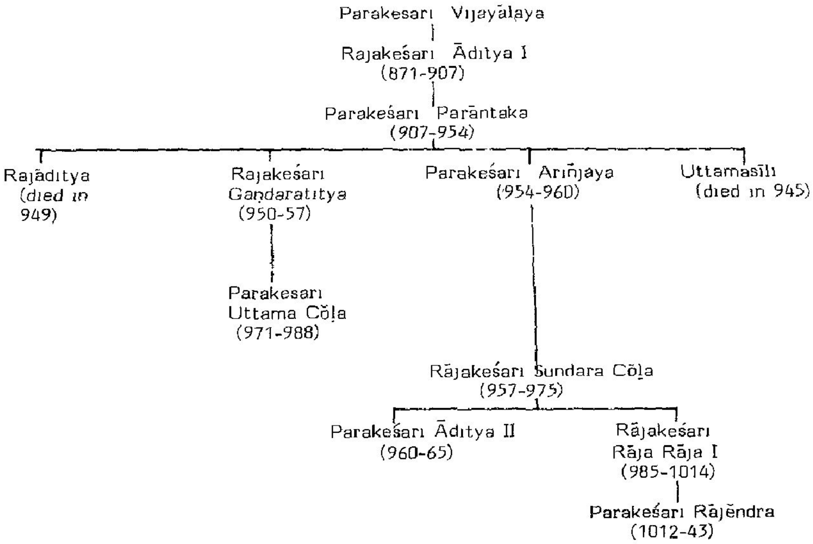
Tamil Civilization
Vol.3 No.2&3

DATE OF BIRTH AND THE DATE OF CORONATION OF RĀJARĀJA

N.Sethuraman

"In the illustrious family of the *Cōḻas was born* Vijayālaya of praise-worthy prowess, whose footstool was battered by the diadems in the rush, for precedence, of kings desirous of prostrating. He, the light of the *Solar race, took possession of* the town Tañchapuri (i.e., Thañjāvūr) which was picturesque to the sight, was as beautiful as Alaka (the chief town of Kubera).......Having next consecrated (there) (the image of) Niṣumbhāsudanī whose lotus-feet are worshipped by gods and demons, (he) by the grace of that (goddess) bore just (as easily) as a garland (the *weight of*) the (whole) earth resplendent with (her) garment of the four oceans".

Thus, the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu copper plates of Rājēndra I (*SII*III:205) introduce Parakeśarivarmaṉ Vijayālaya the founder of the Cōḻa empire. His successors who ruled from A.D.850 to A.D.985 are called Early Cōḻas. They were namely Āditya I, Parāntaka I, Gaṇḍarāditya, Ariñjaya, Sundara Cōḻa, Āditya II, Uttama Cōḻa and Rāja Rāja the Great. The family tree is given below.



The German scholar Kielhorn (1905) consulted the astronomical data of the records of Parakeśari Parāntaka I and surmised that the king came to the throne in A.D.907. K.V.Subrahmanya Aiyer found that Aditya I came to the throne in A.D.-871. Krishna Sastri suggested A.D.-969-970 as the accession date of Uttama Cōḷa. However, there were some discrepancies. These were cleared by the writer when he discovered a new inscription in the Kumbhakōnam Nāgeśvara temple (Sethuraman 1980). The record belongs to Uttama Cōḷa. It quotes year ten (in words), month *Mesha*, star *Baraṇi*, Thursday and solar eclipse (of 300 year cycle). The data perfectly agree with Thursday the 7th April 981. This date and the data of his other records confirm that Uttama came to the throne in the middle of A.D.971.

Accession date of Rājarāja

Records of Rājarāja are many. His earlier records introduce the king as *Rajakeśarivarmaṉ* or *Rājarājakeśarivarmaṉ*. His Tamil *praśasti (meykkīrtti)* begins with *tirumagaḷ pōla*. The epithet *kāṇḍalūr śālai kalam aṟuttu* is found in many inscriptions. Later records introduce the king as Rājarājadēva.

Keilhorn consulted the astronomical data furnished in ten records of Rājarāja and surmised *(EI IX*; 217) that the king came to the throne between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D.985. We shall discuss some of those records and see how Kielhorn arrived at this date.

A record of Rājarāja *(EI* IV:68) which comes from the Agastyeśvara temple, Balmuri village, Śrīraṅgapaṭṭam Taluk, Karnataka State, provides the following data: regnal year twenty eight (in words), *Saka Varṣa 934*, Cyclic year *Parthiva*, month *Pausha* and *Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti.* Kielhorn equated the data to Sunday the 23rd December 1012. *Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti* took place after 12-37 p.m. This date and the regnal year 28 yield the king's accession between December 984 and December 985.

A record which comes from Tiruvallam, North Arcot District, *(SII* III:49) gives the data as year 7, month *Aippasi*, the first solar day *(viṣu)*, full moon star *Revati* and lunar eclipse. Kielhorn found the correct date 26th September 991. On that date there was lunar eclipse in the night. This information helps us in fixing the accession date between December 984 and September 985. The interval is reduced by three months.

A record which comes from Suchindram *(EI* V:44) states, Rājarājakeśarivarmaṉ, regnal year ten, month *Karkaṭaka* with which the regnal year begins *(Rājarājakēśarivarmarku yāṇḍu pattām yāṇḍu tuḍaṅkiṉa karkaṭaka ñāyaṟṟu).* The record states that the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja commenced in the Tamil month *Karkaṭaka*. It means that every year the change-over of the regnal year should take place in the month *Karkaṭaka*. Evidently *Karkaṭaka* was the accession month. It was already found that the accession took place between December 984 and September 985. Kielhorn rightly caught these points and surmised that Rājarāja ascended the throne on some day in the month *Karkaṭaka (Āḍi)* in 985. In other words the king came to the throne between the 25th June and the 25th July 985.

The finding of Kielhorn was a major discovery. Robert Sewell consulted the Koṉērirājapuram record (*EI* XI:241) of Rājarāja. The data are year 26, month *Karkaṭaka*, dark fortnight fourteenth *tithi*, star *Punarvāsu* and Wednesday. Sewell equated the data to 12th July 1010. On the basis of this date he surmised that the king came to the throne between the 25th June and the 12th July 985.

Sewell applied the Christian calendar system and made the reverse calculation. The custom and culture of the South Indian kings reveal that the princes counted their regnal years from the day of the accession star(Sethuraman 1978). For example, if a king mounts the throne on a day of *Revati* in *Sukla Pakṣa* in the month *Makara*, his second year begins in the next year on the day of *Revati* in *Sukla Pakṣa* in the same month *Makara*. Thus one year of reign will contain 354 to 384 days. This measurement of the regnal year is called "*yāṇḍu*" which is of lunar reckoning. The term *yāṇḍu* is used in all the inscriptions of the Tamil kings. We should follow and apply this principle and find out the exact accession date of Rājarāja.

On the basis of the Koṉērirājapuram record discussed above star *Puṉarvāsu* in the month *Karkaṭaka* in the year 1010 belongs to the 26th year. Accordingly, star *Puṉarvāsu* in *Karkaṭaka* of 985 falls in the first year. The star was current on Saturday the 18th July. In other words the king came to the throne between the 25th June and the 18th July 985.

The Anantisvarasvamy temple situated at Uḍaiyārkudi (near Chidambaram) came into existence in the time of Parāntaka Cōḷa I (A.D.907-954). The village was founded by him and it was called Vīranārāyaṇa Caturvēdimaṅgalam after his surname. The Cōḷa records found in the Anantīśvarasvāmy temple were engraved in the reigns of Parāntaka and his successors. A record which comes from this temple (*ARE* 1920:599) belongs to Rājakeśarivarmaṉ. It is in the character of late 10th century. It is a post-Parāntaka record. The data are year 3, month *Karkaṭaka*, *Ārdra* and Saturday. The record refers to the grant made by a donor who hails from Pāṇḍimandalam. The data do not produce any date in the reign of Rājakeśarivarmaṉ Gaṇḍarāditya (Sethuraman 1980) who came to the throne between the 23rd December 949 and the 5th January 950. The data do not produce any date in the reign of Rājakeśarivarmaṉ Sundara Cōḷa (*Ibid*, pp. 47, 52) who came to the throne between the 2nd and the 17th January 957. The data respond to the initial date of Rājarāja and supply the date Saturday the 14th July 988. The record certainly belongs to Rājakeśarivarmaṉ Rājarāja. On the basis of this record star *Ārdra* in the month *Karkaṭaka* of 988 belongs to the 3rd year. Accordingly *Ārdra* in *Karkaṭaka* of 985 falls in the regnal year zero. The star was current on 17th July.

1) As per the Uḍaiyārkuḍi record
   17th July 985 == regnal year zero

2) As per the Koṉērirājapuram record
   18th July 985 == regnal year one

Rājakeśarivarmaṉ Rāja Rāja ascended the throne on 18th July 985 A.D. It was Saturday, the day of star *Punarvāsu* in the dark fortnight

in the month *Karkaṭaka (Āḍi)*, *Puṇarvāsu* was his accession star.

The birth date of Rājarāja

Sundara Cōḻa ruled from 957 to 975 (*Ibid*, p.123). He had two sons namely Āditya Karikāla and Arumoḻivarmaṉ i.e., Rājarāja. Āditya came to the throne in A.D.960. In the year 965 he was murdered by the traitors (*Ibid*, p.87). According to the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu copper plates people wanted that Rājarāja should ascend the throne. Whereas Rājarāja desired that his paternal uncle Uttama Cōḻa should rule the land. Uttama came to the throne in 971.

Historical events reveal an important information. In 965 when Āditya was murdered, his younger brother Rājarāja was fully qualified to ascend the throne. Unless a king is married he cannot be anointed. in the circumstances in 965 Rājarāja should be a young prince and also married. The minimum age prescribed for a Tamil king to get married is 14. Therefore we will not be far wrong if we surmise that in 965 Rājarāja was probably not less than 18 years old. In 971 when Uttama came to the throne Rājarāja should be not less than 24 years old. A record which comes from Tiruppaḻaṉam belongs to Uttama (*SII*, XIX:29).[1] It is in year 2 corresponding to 973. The record refers to the Chola regiment called *Uḍaiyār Arumoḻidēva teriñja kaikōlar*. The regiment is called Arumoḻidēva i.e., Rājarāja. *Uḍaiyār* the term of respect and regard is attributed to the Prince Arumoḻi. This clearly proves that in 973 Rājarāja should be a soldier prince, commanding a regiment called after his name and fittingly at that time he could be not less than 26 years of age. The course of events and the dates place the birth of Rājarāja around 947 A.D. The date falls in the reign of his great grand-father Parāntaka Cōḻa (907-954). Records state that Rājarāja was born on a day of star *Sadayam* in the Tamil month *Aippasi*.

Anointment

Records of Uttama are available upto year 16. A record which comes from Tirupurambiyam belongs to Rājarāja. It is in year 3. It registers the grant made by Sembiaṉ Mādēvi on behalf of her son Uttama Cōḻa. It is evident that Uttama was alive in A.D.988.

In A.D.985 when Rājarāja came to the throne Uttama Cōḻa was the senior king. Naturally he should have crowned Rājarāja. This is confirmed by the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu copper plates.

Thañjāvūr Big Temple

The big temple at Thañjāvūr is the greatest achievement of the king. Let us see when the temple construction was completed. A record which comes from this temple belongs to Rājarāja. It states that Rājarāja handed over the *stūpi (Khalaśa)* for the final consecration on the top of the *vimāna* on the 275th day of his 25th regnal year. The 25th regnal year commenced on a day of *Puṇarvāsu* in the dark fortnight in the month *Karkaṭaka* of 1009. The star was current on 22nd July. The 275th day falls on 22nd April 1010 on which date the same star *Puṇarvāsu* was current. It was Saturday the 31st day of the solar month *Cittirai*.

The consecration of the *stūpi* (*Kumbābisheka*) was conducted on the day of star *Punarvāsu*, Saturday the 31st of *Cittirai* (22nd April) in 1010. (The king did not select the day of *Sadayam* his birth star -- his choice was the day of his accession star *Punarvāsu*. The king wished that the crown and the throne should be blessed and thus the country and the people could live in prosperity).

Last date of Rājarāja

The last regnal year of Rājarāja is 29. It comes to an end on the day of *Ārdra* the day prior to the day of *Punarvāsu* in the dark fortnight in the month *Karkaṭaka* of 1014. The date was 28th June 1014. Rājarāja was no more after this date.

Conclusion

Rājarāja Cōḻa was born around A.D.947 on a day of star *Sadayam* in the month *Aippasi*. He came to the throne on a day of star *Punarvāsu* in the month *Karkaṭaka (Āḍi)* in 985. The Thanjavur big temple was constructed by him. He conducted the first *Kumbābishekam* of the temple on a day of star *Punarvāsu*, Saturday the 31st solar day of the Tamil month *Cittirai* (corresponding to 22nd April) in 1010. His reign extended upto A.D.1014 when he should have been not less than 67 years old.

NOTE

1. The editor wrongly assigns this record to Rājēndra Cōḻa year 2 corresponding to 1014. The internal evidence is against this surmise. In the last years of Rājarāja -- for administrative purposes the kingdom was divided into subdivisions called *vaḷa nāḍu* and *kūṟṟam* -- The village Tiruppalaṉam was in Mirai *Kūṟṟam* in Rājarāja *vaḷa nāḍu* - See *SII*, II, Page 23. The record of Parakēsarivarmaṉ year 2 mentions Mirai *kūṟṟam* only -- Evidently this is a pre Rājarāja record and it belongs to Uttama -- S.R.Balasubramanyam rightly assigns this to Uttama -- see his *Early Cōḻa Art*, part one, page 155.

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SII

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THE ROLE OF FEUDATORIES IN THE DECLINE OF THE LATER CŌḺA EMPIRE

M.S.Govindasamy

The Later Cōḻa rule from Vijayālaya to Rājēndra III, lasting over four centuries, came to an abrupt close in A.D. 1279. Its end was brought about by many factors like royal incompetence, feudatory insubordination, deterioration in imperial administration, the resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas, the rise of the Hoysalas and the Kākatiyas, the almost endless and costly wars, etc. We shall consider here one of those causes, namely, feudatory insubordination.

The Later Cōḻas had many feudatories: The Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs, Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars, Miḷāḍuḍaiyārs, Bāṇas, Koṅgu Cōḻas, Kāḍavarāyas, Malaiyamāṉs, Sambūvarāyas, Yādavarāyas, Telugu Cōḻas, Adigamāṉs, Munaiyadaraiyars, Muttaraiyars, the Western Gaṅgas, Gaṅgaraiyars, Niṣadarāyas, Vaidumbas and Noḷambas. Some of these dynasties like the Paḻuveṭṭaraiyars and Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were in power for a comparatively short period and disappeared from the scene of history. Some other dynasties like the Kāḍavarāyas, Malaiyamāṉs and Sambūvarāyas came into prominence in the later part of Cōḻa history.

A close study of the early records of the Imperial Cōḻas shows the important role of the feudatories in the expansion and administration of the empire. References to such vassals are understandably numerous in such records. But from the time of Rājarāja I to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the sway of the emperors was absolute, and all vassals were kept under effective imperial control. Though they rendered substantial service, military and administrative, they do not figure very much in contemporary records. Since the death of Kulōttuṅga I, we find the increasing importance of feudatories in imperial affairs as evidenced by their own records and by the detailed references to them in the records of the emperors. The growth of their power had important effects on imperial fortunes.

The feudatories had their own territories and administered them in a hereditary manner. They had their own armies, recruited, trained, paid and controlled by them. That Kōpperuñjinga II, a Kāḍavarāya chieftain, had his own navy is noteworthy. The feudatories had the power to levy taxes. Some vassals like the Koṅgu Cōḻas and Telugu Cōḻas had their own coinage, weights and measures. Normally, feudatories issued their orders in the name and regnal year of their overlords. There were some exceptions. Very powerful vassals or those closely related to

the imperial family used to issue their records without any reference to their overlords. Generally the overlord's hand weighed lightly on the powerful and remoter vassals. Often vasals served as generals of the Imperial army. Some times they served as ministers. Towards the end of the reign of Kulōttunga I, feudatories started the the practice of making private treaties with one another for protecting their position and safeguarding their individual interests. As time went on, this practice grew very much and led to may internecine wars. Further, factions developed among them.

The earliest evidence of factions among the vassals is furnished by a record of Kulōttunga I (*ARE* 1928-29: 65) dated 42nd year. Two Nishadarāya Chiefs, Sundarattōḻan Kaṇḍan *alias* Rājēndracōḻa Tuvarāpativēlan and Kaṇḍan Mangalattēvan Tuvarāpativēḻan entered into a private pact in order to safeguard their life, possession, power and prestige. We do not know their opponents or the troubles which led to the pact. Whatever it may be, one thing is clear, that is, they did not think that they should submit their problem to their overlord, the Cōḻa emperor, for any solution. So they decided to make their own efforts to maintain their position.

An inscription of A.D.1160 (*ARE* 1939-40:12) describes in some detail a bloody war between the Pottapi Cōḻas and Nellore Cōḻas. According to the record, the cause of the conflict was the desire of the Nellore ruler for conquest (*digvijaya)*. Both the combatants were the vassals of the Cōḻa emperor. Still the war could not be averted. It shows the growing ambition and freedom of the feudatories. Naturally this must have encouraged other feudatories to resort to force in settling their disputes.

An inscription of Rājādhirāja II (*ARE* 1939-40:100) belonging to A.D.1174 states that Sengēṇi Attimallaṉ *alias* Rājēndracōḻa Sambūvarāya and his brother Ōduvāṉ *alias* Rājagambhīra Sambūvarāya made a political pact with Sengēṇi Miṇḍaṉ Siyaṉ Pallavadaraiyaṉ *alias* Sambūvarāya against Attiyāṇḍāṉ *alias* Vikramasōḻa Sambūvarāya. Another epigraph of the same year (*ARE* 1919:252) states that all the three chiefs agreed not to break the terms of the compact. Though all the chiefs mentioned in the two records were feudatory to Rājādhirāja II, the treaty was made without any regard to the imperial authority. That the Cōḻa emperors did not prevent such feudatory factions and their private pacts, is clear from the increasing number of similar pacts among the vassals in the subsequent period.

The reign of Kulōttunga III witnessed a large number of feudatory alliances. In A.D. 1189 a certain Kulōttungacōḻa Sambūvarāya made an alliance with Kūḍal Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Āḻappirandāṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyaṉ (*ARE* 1919:254). According to the alliance "both swore that they should not do anything that would be detrimental to the interests of either, that Kulōttungacōḻa Sambūvarāya should not form any alliance with Āḻappirandāṉ Ediriḻicōḻa Sambūvarāya, that he should confine himself to certain specified tracts of country which, if he transgressed, the *mudalis* would send up arms and horses and cause him injury; that if Āḻappirandāṉ Ediriḻicōḻa Sambūvarāya inflicted any trouble on Kulottungacōḻa Sambūvarāya, the Kāḍavarāyaṉ would support him; that in case Āḻappirandāṉ

Edirilicōḻa Sambuvarāya ran away from his hill (residence) leaving behind him all arms, Kulōttuṅgacōḻa Sambūvarāya should have possession of them subject to the condition that he would not shelter or form any alliance with the other and that if Kādavarāyaṉ allied himself with the relatives of Kulōttungacōḻa Sambū-varāya and with Ālappirandāṉ Edirili-cōḻa Sambūvarāyaṉ against the interests of Kulōttungacōḻa Sambūvarāyaṉ he (Kādavarāyaṉ) would demean himself to the position of carrying the sandals of his enemies and of eating the chewed betel leaves thrown out from their mouths" (*ARE* 1919: 98-99). Besides showing the existence of serious dissensions among the Sambūvarāyas, the inscription also indicates how the feudatories behaved as if they had no overlord.

In A.D. 1191 a certain Malaiya-māṉ Sūriyadēvaṉ Nīreṟṟāṉ *alias* Rāja-rāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ also known as Edirigalnāyaṉ and the Lord of Tirukkōyilūr made a pact with Kulōt-tuṅgacōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (*ARE* 1937-38: 502). Another epigraph belonging to the same year (*ARE* 1913: 440) mentions a pact between Rājarāja-dēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ, Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Kiliyūr Malaiya-māṉ of Tirukkōyilūr. In the same year Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Pāṇḍināḍu Koṇḍāṉ Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ *alias* Kaṇḍar-Kūḻiyanāna Rājarāja Sambūvarāya along with Rājarāja Mūvēndaraiyar, Jananātha Mūvēndaraiyar and Ulaguy-yakoṇḍa Kāḍavarāyaṉ made a pact with Rājarāja Nīlagangaraiyaṉ on the understanding that he would help only the four and none other (*ARE* 1922:56). Ulaguyyakoṇḍa Kāḍa-varāyaṉ was the same as Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Maṇavāḷapperumāl. This alliance did not last long as a later record shows. The Kādavarāyaṉ fell out with many of them (*SII* VIII: 106). An inscription of A.D. 1196 refers to the renewal of a political pact between Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Siyan Uḍaiyapiḷḷai *alias* Akaḷaṅganāḍāḷ-vāṉ (*ARE* 1908:483). Next year an important Malaiyamāṉ vassal of Kulōttuṅga III by name Kiliyūr Malai-yamāṉ Aḻagiyanāyaṉ Ākarāsuraṉ *alias* Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ made a pact with (1) Kūttāḍumdēvaṉ Prithi-vigaṅgar (2) Malaiyamāṉ Vinaiveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻanāḍālvāṉ (*ARE* 1945:73). In A.D. 1198 Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ concluded a pact with a certain Eriappaṉ Marundaṉ *alias* Mūvēndaraiyaṉ both being loyal to the Bāna chieftain (*ARE* 1934-35: 163). According to the treaty they promised to stand by each other in times of danger and not to enter into any negotiations with each other's enemies. Probably a little before, this Chēḍirāyaṉ made an alliance with another Malaiyamāṉ Chief by name Vīrarājēndra Chēḍirāyaṉ (*ARE* 1934-35: 178). In the same year Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Viramiṇḍaṉ *alias* Attimallaṉ Vikramacōḻa Sambū-varāya made an alliance with (1) Malaiyaṉ Vinaiyaiveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikā-lacōḻa Aḍaiyūr Nāḍālvāṉ (2) Piṟanda-perumāḷ alias Rājarāja Adigamāṉ against (a) Yādavarāya (b) Śiyagaṅga (c) Kulōttuṅgacōḻa Sambūvarāya (*SII* VII: 119).

In A.D. 1199 Viḍugādaḻagiya Perumāḷ also called Rājarāja Adiga-māṉ concluded a pact with Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Attimallaṉ *alias* Vikra-macōḻa Sambūvarāyaṉ and Malaiyaṉ Vinaiyaiveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Aḍaiyūr Nāḍāḻvāṉ (*SII* VII: 119). Some time after this, the same Adiga-māṉ concluded another political pact with the same chiefs against

(a) Yādavarāya (b) Siyagaṅga (c) Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa Sambūvarāya (*SII* VII: 119). The allied chiefs agreed to maintain their respective boundaries as they existed in the time of Rājarāja II Cōḻa. Besides showing the growing rivalry among the important feudatories the record indicates how they themselves settled their mutual boundaries without leaving the matter to the imperial authority.

In A.D.1205 eleven feudatories - (1) Pāṇḍınāḍu Kondāṉ Sambūvarāya (2) Seṅgēṇi Attimallaṉ Viraṇḍaṉ *alias* Edirilicōḻa Sambūvarāya (3) Attımallaṉ Pallvandaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅgacōḻa Sambūvarāya (4) Kıliyūr Malaiyamāṉ Ākarāsuraṉ *alias* Rājamahēndra Chēḍirāyaṉ (5) Kiliyūr Malaiyamāṉ Periuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Rājarāja Chēḍirāyaṉ (6) Kuntan Nambūrālaṉ *alias* Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ (7) Ammaiyappaṉ Marundaṉ *alias* Rājarāja Mūvēndaraiyaṉ (8) Pavantittaṉ *alias* Rājēndracōḻa Sambūvarāya (9) Malaiyaṉ Narasıṅgapanamaṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Aḍaiyūr Nāḍāḻvāṉ (10) Sōmaṉ Tıruvaṇṇāmalai Uḍaiyaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅgacōḻa Priudigaṅgaṉ (11) Sōmaṉ Varantaruvāṉ *alias* Chōḻēndrasiṅga Priudigaṅgaṉ - who were loyal to the emperor Kulōttuṅga III formed a grand alliance against (a) Magadaināḍāḻvāṉ *alias* Vāṇakovaraiyaṉ (b) Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (c) Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ (*SII VIII:* 106). The eleven chiefs agreed to help one another with men and horses aginst the Bāna and Kādava Chieftains. The inscription shows how eleven chiefs made a grand military alliance against the Bānas and the Kāḍavarāyas who were the most powerful vassals in the empire. Thus the Cōḻa camp was sharply divided even in the time of Kulōttuṅga III. But there was no war or confrontation between the emperor and his Bana and Kāḍava vassals. As their records show, they continued to acknowledge his overlordship. Sometime later in the same year, Rājarāja III Chēḍirāyaṉ who led the eleven vassals mentioned above, made a separate pact with Aḻagiyanāyaṉ Ākarāsuraṉ *alias* Rājagambhīra Chēḍirāya against Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and his brothers (*ARE* 1934-35:189). In A.D. 1213 four feudatories (1) Seṅgēni Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyacōḻan alias Ediriḻicōḻa Sambūvarāya (2) Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvaraiyar (3) Kulōttuṅgacōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyar (4) brother-in-law Kāḍavarāyar concluded a political pact (*ARE* 1913:435). The brother-in-law referred to here must be the emperor's brother-in-law, and he may be identified with Kōpperuñjiṅga I.

The feudatory compacts mentioned above, though not exhaustive, are sufficient to prove the existence even among the major vassals of bitter rivalry and enmity detrimental to imperial stability and strength. A careful study of the wording of some of these pacts shows the deep-rooted hostility among them, characteristic of hereditary enemies. One wonders whether they were really under one overlord. One wonders, again, at the tact, ability and wisdom of Kulōttuṅga III who managed to get on well with such warring vassals and triumph over all his enemies including the Pāṇḍyas and Kākatiyas. There is no doubt that the dissensions and rivalry among the Cōḻa vassals must have encouraged the political and military ambitions of the external enemies of the empire.

The successor of Kulōttuṅga III, Rājarāja III, though lucky to rule long and retain the throne against so many odds, did not display the great qualities of his predecessor,

and suffered as much from his over-mighty feudatories as he did from his external foes. His incompetence further encouraged feudatory insubordination. The success of Māravarman Sundara I Pāṇḍya's first invasion of the Cōḻa country must be viewed in this light. An inscription of that Pāṇḍya suggests that he might have received the co-operation of the contemporary Bāna Chieftain in that invasion (*ARE* 1908:482). The Cōḻa emperor seems to have done nothing to chastise the Bānas. Some years after this, the Bāna, Adigamāṉ and Kāḍava vassals of the emperor disturbed the imperial peace necessitating Hoysala military intervention (*EI* VII; p.162). It is not known if the Pāṇḍya had any hand in it.

When Māravarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya invaded the Cōḻa empire for the second time, the Kādava, Bana and Adigamāṉ Chiefs seem to have let down their imperial master. Naturally Rājarāja III sustained defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍya. The subsequent defeat and imprisonment of the Cōḻa emperor by his overmighty Kāḍava vassal must have demoralized the imperial authority. Consequent on the Hoysala military intervention, Rājarāja III regained the throne but not his old power and prestige. The Kāḍavas pursued an independent policy unmindful of the imperial interests.

The foundation of the Kingdom of Kaṇṇaṉūr by the Hoysalas and their frequent interventions in Cōḻa affairs worsened the relations between the Cōḻa emperor and his feudatories. There was a conflict of interests between the Hoysalas and the Cōḻa feudatories resulting in wars. The rise of the Kākatiyas under Gaṇapati resulted in the virtual independence of the Telugu Cōḻas of Nellore who controlled the Northern part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Koṅgu Cōḻas and Nishādarāyas had already succumbed to the pressure of Pāṇḍya imperialism. No record of Rājarāja III is found in their territories.

The last Cōḻa emperor Rājēndra III tried his best to rehabilitate the imperial fortunes. But the times were not opportune to him. His triumph over the contemporary Pāṇḍyas was rendered nugatory by Hoysala intervention. His subjugation of the Sambūvarāyas was transitory and benefited the Telugu Cōḻas. The Kāḍavarāyas were virtually independent though occasionally helpful to the emperor. Some Malaiyamāṉ chiefs were feudatory to Kōpperuñjiṅga II (*SII* XII: 236, 240, 241). For a short period Rājēndra III was at war with the Hoysalas. But soon the danger from the Pāṇḍyas united them. Nevertheless, it made no difference to the general political condition of the South.

The successful *digvijaya* of Jatāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya up to Nellore before 1258 was the fatal blow to the shaky Cōḻa empire. It emasculated the military might of the Hoysalas in the Tamil country thereby eliminating all chances of the survival of the Cōḻa empire. Further, it converted the leading Cōḻa vassals like the Kāḍavarāyas, Bānas, Telugu Cōḻas, Yādavarāyas, Malaiyamāṉs and Adigamaṉs into Pāṇḍya feudatories. Even the mighty Kōpperuñjiṅga II bowed down before the victorious Pāṇḍya. There is some evidence that some Munaiya chiefs assisted the Pāṇḍya in the fight with the Cōḻa (*ARE* 1913: 329, 332). The vanquished Cōḻa was thus deserted

by his vassals. He seems to have reconciled to his fate and attempted no more military ventures. Thus ended the greatest Cōḷa empire although Rājēndra III continued on the throne up to A.D. 1279.

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THE OVERSEAS CAMPAIGNS OF RĀJARĀJA I

K. Indrapala

Ever since the decipherment and publication of the Cōḻa inscriptions containing what has been referred to as the *meykīrtti (praśasti)* of Rājarāja I, wherein a catalogue of his conquests is given, there has been a continuing interest in his overseas campaigns that for the first time brought about the acknowledgement of the rule of an Indian monarch in overseas territories. Greater interest, howerver, has been focused on the maritime expeditions of Rājarāja's son and successor Rājēndra I, no doubt on account of the wider range they covered, having been directed against territories in Southeast Asia. While for a long time the conventional approach was adopted, as a rule, in respect of the interpretation given to these expeditions, in recent years there has been renewed interest in these events and new interpretations have been proposed by some American scholars, followed by others in India. (Stein 1977, 1980; Spencer 1983; Hall 1980; Raghotham 1983). This paper attempts to study the overseas campaigns of Rājarāja in the light of these fresh approaches.

Although Rājarāja ascended the throne in A.D.985, some years must have elapsed before he was in a position to launch on invasions outside the Cōḻa kingdom. By his fourth regnal year he had reached the Kerala coast and was possibly ready to begin his overseas campaigns. Going by the catalogue of achievements given in his inscriptional eulogy *(meykīrtti)*, some time before A.D.988 Rājarāja claims to have achieved what has been couched in the dubious phrase *Kāṇṭalūr-c-cālai kalamaruttaruḷi*. This was originally rendered as "destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kāṇḍalūr" and was interpreted by the veteran historian of the Cōḻas, K.A.Nilakanta Sastri (1955; 189) as a naval victory off Kāṇḍalūrcālai. Though for a long time this interpreatation was not seriously contested, in recent years it has been asserted that the phrase does not refer to any naval triumph or martial exploit. Far from it, it was, according to Burton Stein (1980; 345 ff) and others, "a purely ideological victory, in which Rājarāja managed to secure for the Cōḻa court the services of a prestigious *sālai*, or Sanskrit school".

The first clear reference to an overseas campaign of Rājarāja occurs in the earliest copies of his *meykīrtti*, dated A.D.993, namely the conquest of Īḻa-maṇṭalam (Śrī Laṅkā) which brought Rājarāja 'fame in all the eight directions' (*SII* II Introduction). The exact date of the invasion of Sri Lanka is difficult to ascertain.

Towards the end of his reign, there is the claim in Rajaraja's *meykīrtti* of the conquest of the 'twelve thousand ancient islands in the ocean' *(munnīr palantīvu pannīrāyiram) (SII* II introduction). The conventional interpretation identified these islands as the Maldives in the Indian Ocean, but this identification as well as the claim of such a conquest overseas are being questioned now (Spencer 1983: 35). There is no claim of any other overseas conquests by Rājarāja in his inscriptional eulogies.

The traditional approach to these claims has been to accept their validity and attribute to Rājarāja the defeats of an unknown enemy in a naval engagement off Kāndalūr-cālai, the conquest of the Maldive Islands. Nilakanta Sastri's views on these conquests were accepted by almost all South Indian historians for a very long time. In recent years, we have seen the rise of a new school of historians of the Cōla period, mainly American, who have brought to bear an inter-disciplinary approach and new insights into their researches, resulting in a new, and at times provocative, interpretation of Cōla history. A leading scholar among them is no doubt Burton Stein (1980)who has made valuable contributions to the study of Cōla history during the last quarter of a century. Another scholar, George Spencer (1983), has made a special study of the overseas activities of the Cōlas and has adopted the position that "much of the epigraphical evidence that historians have cited to demonstrate professional military--and especially naval--organization during Rājarāja's reign must be set aside as unconvincing".

That we need to have a second look at the early interpretations, which are now more than fifty years old, is not to be denied. The invasions and conquests of ancient Indian rulers were interpreted earlier largely on the basis of what has been termed Eurocentric concepts of imperialism. In other words, the early historians tried to comprehend the conquests in terms of well known European models and this has been the traditional interpretation. The recent trends among the serious historians of the Cōla period show a fresh look being taken at the sources. These historians have raised problems about the interpretation of the accounts of political behaviour as given in the epigraphic sources and chronicles. In the words of Spencer (1983; 4),

> "Such records often are not what they seem; they may say one thing, but signify something else. Stated motives may not be the real ones. On rather, they constitute idealized, and therefore incomplete, versions of events. The sources not only have to be studied, but also interpreted, even *decoded*, because statements about kings and other heroes are couched in a language at once poetic and metaphoric, resonant with multiple meanings and especially religious implications--as for example,... when the invasion of Sri Lanka by Rājarāja I is likened to the exploits of the epic hero Rāma..."

Spencer (1976) chooses to describe the political behaviour of the Cōla monarchs, especially in respect of Sri Lanka, as the politics of plunder.

Burton Stein (1977) too has attributed predatory motives to the wars of the Cōlas (1977). He argues that

> "As in most parts of medieval India, warfare was predatory in South India; the objectives

were not territorial, but the seizure of treasure. Cōḷa armies waging such wars north and west of the Tamil plain as well as in Ceylon were combinations of the core forces of the Cōḷa and allied locality forces intent upon sharing the prizes of war or the defense of their own territories from other predators".

Such interpretations are no doubt in sharp contrast with the traditional view in which the Cōḷa rulers were seen as European-style emperors annexing territory to their kingdom in a bid to build up a large territorial empire. In his provocative study of the overseas invasions of the Cōḷas, especially those of Rājēndra I, Spencer has worked on the hypothesis that these invasions constituted "a type of compulsive behaviour dictated by the urgent needs of statecraft, especially but not exclusively its economic needs". These needs, as listed by him, were:

> "to reaffirm the hero-credentials of kings and princes; to provide potentially restless vassals and their troops with profitable employment in distant places; and to secure access to what E.N. Eisenstadt has called 'free-floating resources', such as jewels and other valuables which were not firmly embedded in local communities, to place at the disposal of the court".

However, in respect of Sri Lanka, despite his preference for the use of the phrase 'politics of plunder' to describe Cōḷa behaviour, Spencer (1983; 31) is willing to concede that apart from plunder there were other political motives.

While these recent attempts at a fresh interpretation of Cōḷa history should be welcomed for opening up new areas of enquiry and speculation, it is the purpose of this paper to examine these theories and see whether their application to the overseas campaigns of Rājarāja is acceptable.

Stein and Spencer seek an explanation to the frequent wars waged by the Cōḷa rulers in the structural characteristics of the Cōḷa political system. It is here that Stein's theory of segmentary states comes into prominence. Stein (1980: 9) sees the Cōḷa political system as a segmentary state where "Territorial sovereignty is recognised but limited and essentially relative, forming a series of zones in which authority is most absolute near the centre and increasingly restricted towards the periphery, often shading off into a ritual hegemony". In such a set-up, the Cōḷa ruler at the centre did not wage wars with a centralised army for territorial annexation, but combinations of his forces from the central segment and forces from the other segments launched on military campaigns against neighbours either to seize treasure and share it or to defend their segments from other predators.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, we have to seek answers to two main problems relating to the subject of this paper, the overseas campaigns of Rājarāja. The first is whether Rājarāja conquered and annexed the islands of the Maldives and Sri Lanka. The second is whether these campaigns were motivated only by predatory considerations.

As we have noted above, the epigraphic sources refer only to two

overseas conquests of Rajaraja. Of these, the conquest of Sri Lanka is so well attested by the Sri Lankan chronicles and the Cōḷa inscriptions in Sri Lanka that we need not labour the point (Indrapala 1978). Of course, the whole island was *not* conquered, only the most important centre of political authority in the north of the island came under Cōḷa suzerainty.

As for the conquest of 'the twelve thousand ancient islands in the ocean', Spencer (1983:26) considers as doubtful both the claim as well as the identification of the islands with the Maldives. Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 183) had identified the islands with the Maldives and had unquestionably accepted Rājarāja's claim of conquering the islands. He quotes sources that refer to the King of the Maldives assuming the style of King of the Twelve Thousand Islands (Sastri 1955: 192). The identification of the 'twelve thousand ancient islands' with the Maldives should not pose a serious problem. Quite apart from the reference to twelve thousand islands, a reference that seems to be associated with the Maldives, the crucial word in the inscriptional phrase is *paḻantīvu* 'ancient islands', the Tamil form of the name Mahaladipa, from which is derived the name Maladiv (Maldives) (Maloney 1980: 137, 422). The name Palantivu occurs at least once in the Sri Lankan Pāli chronicles.

If Rājarāja's forces were in a position to carry out a naval expedition against Sri Lanka and subjugate the most important part of it, there is no reason to doubt Rājarāja's claim of a naval expedition to the Maldives. A look into the history of these islands will show that there were very close cultural and economic relations between the Maldives on the one hand and Kerala and Sri Lanka on the other (Maloney 1980: 192). Politically the islands, with a small population, were not in any way strong and a minor Cōḷa expedition either from Kerala or from Sri Lanka would have achieved the desired objective, without much opposition.

There is no reason why Rājarāja should claim the conquest of such a politically insignificant group of islands towards the end of his reign, unless he had actually sent an expedition there. It was certainly not one of those conquests that a monarch would have been anxious to claim for reasons of prestige. As we shall see later, the expedition to the Maldives was probably related to events in Sri Lanka and to the trade of the Indian Ocean, rather than motivated by territorial expansion. Whether the Maldives and Sri Lanka were annexed to the Cōḷa 'empire' is a question that will be taken up in the discussion of the second problem.

With regard to the second problem, we find that the new school of historians are emphatic that the overseas campaigns of Rājarāja and his successors had the main motive of plunder, while the traditional interpretations have hailed them as having been motivated by imperial or territorial expansion. The traditional historians, as noted earlier, were bound by Eurocentric views and to theories which European scholars had developed to explain Indian society.

The ideas about *empire*, *emperor* and *imperial expansion* that traditional historians had adopted in their writings on Indian history, especially in the twenties, thirties and forties, at the height of the nationalist movement, are no doubt adopted from European

models. That Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 194) had such a European model in his mind is obvious when he states that Rajaraja had 'an extensive empire comprising the whole of the modern Madras and Āndhra and parts of Mysore and the island of Ceylon' and that its 'administration had been carefully organized and a fairly powerful bureaucracy brought into existence'. Stein and others are right in questioning the validity of such conclusions, for these reflect the failure to analyse Indian political institutions on the basis of the systems evolved within the Indian tradition. There is a need to understand the true nature of 'the political society of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands where concepts of relationships between political systems were very different from those of the contemporary west' (Embree 1977). While rejecting the traditional Eurocentric interpretation, Stein and others have adopted models from the tribal system of Africa, thus again leaving room for the criticism that the Indian political system is not being seen from the inside. The following criticism of Bernard Cohn (1977: 97) appears to be valid:

> "…. to study the Indian political order in the pre-British period as if it consisted of African lineages or segmentary states without reference to the sets of meanings people attached to 'political relations', without reference to the theory which lay behind the state systems would seem to leave out what was the more vital and more important part of the political order".

While, in fairness to Stein, it may be stated that his segmentary state theory seems to come closest to the medieval political system of South India, we should try to understand that system only on the basis of the theory behind it. And that is possible only through a thorough analysis of the epigraphic and literary sources that we have. Till then the segmentary state can at best be a tentative model.

To understand the factors behind the Cōḻa invasions of Sri Lanka and the subsequent rule established in that island, we must analyse the political and economic relations that existed among the kingdoms of South India and Sri Lanka in the two or three centuries preceding these invasions.

The invasion of Sri Lanka by Tamil princes from South India was not a new phenomenon of the Cola period. The Sri Lankan chronicles record such invasions from pre-Christian times and on many occasions these invasions resulted in the conquest of Anurādhapura and short periods of rule there by the invaders. But until the rise of the Pallavas, these invasions were not launched by kings of any of the Tamil kingdoms nor did they result in the recognition of the suzerainty of any South Indian king there. The successful invader usurped power at Anurādhapura and ruled there until he was ousted from the throne. There is no evidence of any South Indian ruler having been behind any of these invasions. But with the emergence of strong dynasties in the seventh century, especially in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region, a new pattern of political relations could be seen to emerge.

When the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Chāḷukyas began to clash with each other as the major dynasties of the region, a pattern of

friendly alliances centring round each of these dynasties and involving the minor dynasties of the region could be seen to emerge. Those minor ones allied to a major dynasty felt it obligatory to help their major ally in the latter's wars, while the major dynasty was in turn obliged to help the minor allies against their enemies. The beginnings of the involvement of the Sinhala dynasty of Sri Lanka in the South Indian system of alliances could be seen in the seventh century when the Sinhala king Mānavarman and the Pallava Narsimhavarman were allies. It naturally meant that the Sinhala ruler had to consider the Pāṇḍya as his enemy. And this was exactly the position in the 9th century, and possibly in the 8th century A.D. too. The Sinhalas were among the allies of the Pallavas when they fought the Pāṇḍya Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha. After defeating the Pallavas, Śrī Māra turned against Sri Lanka and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sinhalas at Anurādhapura. Around A.D.880, the Pāṇḍyas clashed again with the Pallavas and on this occasion, too, it is possible that the Sinhalas supported the Pallavas. With this encounter, the power of both the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas declined, and the Cōḻas began to emerge as the most powerful dynasty in Tamil Nadu. At this point we see a change in the traditional alliances, for from the beginning of the tenth century, the Sinhalas are allied with the Pandyas, an alliance that lasted till the fall of the Cōḻas. It is in this change that we have to trace the beginnings of the hostility between the Cōḻas and the Sinhalas.

From the time of Āditya I, we find the Cōḻas counting the Sinhala dynasty among its defeated enemies. Parāntaka I sent an expedition to the island and claimed victory, using the title *Maturaiyum Īḻamum koṇṭa* (Conqueror of Madurai and Ilam). There was another invasion of the island in the reign of Parāntaka II. Finally, in the time of Rājarāja, some time before A.D.993, a successful invasion resulted in the conquest of Anurādhapura.

The inscriptions of Āditya, Parāntaka and Rājarāja give no reasons for the invasions of Sri Lanka, although the records of the reign of Rājēndra I give some clue regarding the motives behind his invasion. It is clear, however, that from the time of Āditya, there was longstanding enmity between the Cōḻas and the Sinhalas. A study of the Sri Lankan chronicles shows that the reason for this was an anti-Cōḻa alliance among the southern dynasties, namely the Cēras, Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalas. The Cōḻas considered them as a troublesome gang of three and in fact referred to them collectively as the 'three southerners' *(Teṉṉavar mūvar)*. The Cōḻa attempt to subjugate them is understandable in the light of the ideal of kingship to which they subscribed and which they developed under Rājarāja.

The subjugation of the recalcitrant dynasties of the South was necessary in terms of the Cōḻa ideal of kingship, as reflected in the inscriptions. Rājarāja considered himself as the Lord of Wealth and of Land and, as S.Pathmanathan (1981:93-112) has shown in a recent study, there was on his part the pretension to be a Universal Ruler. Though not articulated in the inscriptions, his predecessors also possibly had such

an ideal which is, of course, nothing new to Indian political theory. In the pursuit of such an ideal, the Cōḷas had to invade their neighbouring territories and establish their supremacy over the dynasties in those territories.

Associated with this aim were, no doubt, what Spencer describes as the 'urgent needs of statecraft'. His argument that there was the need 'to re-affirm the hero- credentials of kings and princes' is acceptable. Pathmanathan (1981:93-112) too, accepts this when he says that 'the Cōḷa rulers had to convince the various kings, chieftains and status-groups over which they had attained a position of overlordship of their military prowess and superiority in order to keep them in a position of subordinate alliance.'

But we need not attribute motives of either grandiose imperial conquest or mere plunder for these invasions. That the invasions did result in the acknowledgement of Cōḷa suzerainty over a large area, including much of Sri Lanka, is undeniable. Such a situation, however, was not equivalent to an imperial organization in the Western sense. Similarly, there was plunder in the course of the invasions, as has been the case during military campaigns throughout the ages in all countries. But that is not to say that plunder was the main motive.

If plunder was the motive, we cannot explain Cōḷa behaviour after the invasions. Once the plundering was over, what were they doing in Sri Lanka for years trying to maintain a foothold there? An analysis of Cōḷa activities in Sri Lanka (as well as in Kerala and the Pāṇḍya kingdom) shows that they were neither annexing it as part of their so-called well-knit empire nor sacking it with the motive of plunder.

In the Indian experience, when a powerful dynasty defeated the rulers of small neighbouring kingdoms, these remained in the hands of the defeated rulers, retaining their autonomy after acknowledging the suzerainty of the victorious monarch. But if a defeated ruler proved to be recalcitrant, the tendency was to install a submissive member of his dynasty as the new ruler. In the case of the Cōḷas, too, we find this practice being adopted in the early years. But when the southern dynasties were repeatedly defying the authority of the Cōḷas, the system was modified to allow for members of the Cōḷa dynasty to rule in those kingdoms as the legitimate successors of the traditional dynasties by adopting hybrid dynastic names, such as Cōḷa-Kēraḷa, Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa-Laṅkeśvara, as well as the relevant consecration names. But that was after the reign of Rājarāja I. Such a political system was much less than a western type empire, but would appear to be more than a system of segmentary states.

Coming to the economic motive of plunder, it is hard to accept that Rājarāja's main motive in invading Sri Lanka was to loot the palace and the Buddhist monasteries at Anurādhapura of their wealth. While it need not be denied that the Cōḷa armies looted what was left of the royal treasure (there was not much left according to the Chronicles) and the monasteries (which being Theravada institutions were in any case not repositories of material

wealth like the Hindu temples, although they held enormous property in land), the fact that the Cōḷa armies stayed on in Sri Lanka would mean that there were other overriding motives than plunder.

Aside the political motive already discussed, there were possibly other economic motives which necessitated keeping Sri Lanka within the sphere of Cōḷa influence. In view of the important role tthat South Indian trading communities played in the commerce of the Indian Ocean at this time, it is worthwhile looking for any commercial motives behind Cōḷa behaviour towards the end of the 10th century A.D.

The 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D. were a period when powerful mercantile communities of South India were active in Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia and the ports of China. We do not have any evidence regarding the relations that might have existed between the rulers and these communities, or of any support or protection the latter received from the rulers. There was, of course, no question of these communities being associated with the rulers in any imperial expansion, as in the case of the latter-day European colonialism. But on the other hand, some interest on the part of the Cōḷa rulers in the profitable overseas trade that was going on at that time cannot be ruled out. Spencer himself, with all his emphasis on the plunder motive, is inclined to concede commercial motives to Rājarāja's support of Buddhist *vihāras* at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam. We also find that the Cōḷa rulers, like the monarchs of the Southeast Asian kingdoms interested in the China trade, sent missions to the Chinese emperor. Obviously the motive was not political. Possibly it was commercial. As the Cōḷa rulers themselves did not directly engage in trade, their missions were in all probability on behalf of the Tamil traders who were engaged in the China trade and from which trade the Cōḷa rulers stood to gain. The Sri Lanka chronicle refers to information given by a trader to Rājarāja regarding the political confusion at Anurādhapura, thus prompting him to undertake the expedition to Sri Lanka. If there is any truth in this, it would imply some connection between the Cōḷa ruler and the traders but our evidence is meagre. We do, however, see that in the wake of the Cōḷa conquest of the island, there was an increase of South Indian trading activities.

Another aspect that needs to be taken into consideration in this discussion is the Indian Ocean trade at this time. After the 8th century A.D., the Muslim Arabs and the Persians expanded their commercial activities eastwards and were, by the time of the accession of Rājarāja, on the point of controlling the Indian Ocean trade. During the same period, the Chinese too had developed a greater interest in the trade of Southeast Asia and South Asia and were frequenting the ports of South India, while some of the rulers of these regions, including the Cōḷas, reciprocated by sending missions to the Chinese court. It is now well known that the Chinese had regular trade with Tamil Nadu and that the Tamil traders, too, had established themselves in some Chinese ports at this time. In a recent study, another American scholar Kenneth Hall (1980,p.163) remarks that the "Cōḷa ports were recognized as 'first class' trade partners of China".

Despite the tremendous development of the Arab trade, however, we do not have evidence of Arab domination of the Indian Ocean trade in the 11th century A.D., as we do for the period after the 12th century. In Sri Lanka not much of evidence is forthcoming regarding the Arab trade in the 11th century and the situation is not very different in the Maldives either, where after the 12th century there is a total take-over by the Arabs. The question arises as to why the Arabs, who had begun to push eastwards in the ninth and tenth centuries, had to wait till the 13th century to establish themselves on the Kerala and Pāṇḍya coasts and in Sri Lanka and the Maldive Islands. Without going into great details of the commercial situation at this time, the only answer that seems possible is that the central part of the Indian Ocean, with its chief ports in the above-mentioned areas, were controlled by some others whom they found too powerful to oust. And we know that the commercial forces in those regions (we do not know about the Maldives) were the powerful South Indian mercantile communities who go out of the scene only in the 13th century when the Arabs become dominant. This is not to imply European style rivalry but there must have been competition even among the medieval Asian trading communities.

Did the Cōḷa rulers provide any backing to these traders? An answer to this question will help to place in proper perspective Rājarāja's invasion of SriLanka and the Maldives. That the Cōḷas were not interested in the lucrative maritime trade of the South Indian mercantile communities is hard to accept. Kenneth Hall (1980: 163, 165, 169, 175, 191) repeatedly hints at a strong Cōḷa interest in the trade when he says: "Port cesses...... seemed to have increased royal interest in promoting this trade", "Rājarāja was in some way interested in the (China) trade route", "Cōḷa kings saw benefits to be derived from a positive stance toward commerce", and "not only soldiers and temples benefited from the prosperous royal expedition, but also other sectors of society, including merchants".

Control of the Kerala coast, Sri Lanka and the Maldives was necessary, if the South Indian mercantile communities were to dominate and get maximum profits from the trade with China and Southeast Asia. If Rājarāja and his successors were interested in the benefits of this trade and in protecting the traders against the inroads of the Arabs, one could naturally expect them to prevent control of the ports by the Islamic rivals. It is, therefore, possible that the invasion of Sri Lanka, and more so that of the Maldives, had commercial motives too.

The relations between Sri Lanka and the Maldives have been very close during the early period, so much so that not only a dialect of Sinhala but also Buddhism was well established in those islands. When, in the time of Rājarāja, Anurādhapura was sacked and the Sinhala ruler had to flee to the southern part of the island, it is possible that the latter was in contact with the ruler of the Maldives and was promoting activities that affected the South Indian traders. The Arabs were anxious to gain a foothold there, and the Maldivian ruler might have adopted a policy more favourable to the Arabs. This perhaps prompted the attack on the

Maldive Islands towards the end of Rajaraja's reign. The attack fits the need to control the Maldives for the security of Sri Lanka as well as for the protection of the South Indian trade. Once the Colas were out of the scene, the Arabs were firmly in control of the Maldives and Buddhism was supplanted by Islam. And in Sri Lanka, too, the Muslims controlled the external trade after the 12th century ousting the earlier South Indian communities.

In the light of these considerations, it appears that Rājarāja's possible naval engagements off the Kerala coast, and the attack on the Maldives as well as the conquest of Sri Lanka had commercial motives quite apart from the political objectives of living up to the ideals of a hero-king and subjugating recalcitrant rulers. Spencer (1983: 1122) himself concedes that plunder need not have been the motive for all the invasions when he says that "some campaigns were indeed aimed at expanding territorial hegemony, in the sense of subduing recalcitrant chiefs and reducing them to allied or tributory status". The repeated engagements in the Pandyan kingdom and in Sri Lanka and the attack on the Maldives were motivated by this reason, although the initial campaigns in the first two places did result in plunder.

Finally, we come to the question of annexation. So far no evidence of Cōḻa influence has come up in the Maldives and it is most unlikely that there was any Cōḻa rule imposed on those islands. The invasion must have had a limited purpose and it cannot be claimed that the Maldives were conquered and annexed to the Cola territory. On the other hand, the situation in Sri Lanka was quite different. The Sinhala ruler of Anurādhapura had been in league with the Pāṇḍya and had given the latter refuge after the defeat of their combined forces around A.D. 915. The Pāṇḍya had also entrusted his regalia to the Sinhala ruler. Some time in the middle of the 10th century A.D there was another Cōḻa invasion of Sri Lanka. A few years later, around A.D. 965, the Pāṇḍya and Sinhala forces made a combined bid to resist Cōḻa aggression (Sastri 1955: 154). After this, it was left to Rājarāja to attempt the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya and Sinhala dynasties. Thus we see that both the Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalas proved to be difficult to subjugate and the constant support provided by the Sinhalas to the Pāṇḍyas made it necessary for the Cōḻas to control Sri Lanka if they were to maintain an effective hold on the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Even applying Stein's theory, Sri Lanka would have been important as a peripheral zone of Cōḻa influence.

Rājarāja's invasion did not result in the conquest of the whole island. But the most important political centre, Anuradhapura, was conquered. As the Sinhala ruler had fled to the southern part of the island, it is not known what arrangements were made to administer the region. It is possible that it was left under the care of a prince of the Sinhala dynasty or a Cōḻa commander, for in the 29th year of Rājarāja (A.D.1014) we find that certain villages in Sri Lanka had been granted by the Cōḻa monarch to the temple at Tanjavur (Sastri 1955:172). An inscription of Rājarāja has also been discovered in Sri Lanka. This record refers to a Siva temple named after Rājarāja (Iravikula-māṇikka-īśvaram) which appears to have been built there some time before the

20th year of the monarch (Indrapala: 1971). It is, therefore, clear that the northern part of the island had acknowledged Cōḷa suzerainty as a consequence of the invasion of Rajaraja. Since the Sinhala ruler had escaped to the south, some arrangements must have been made to retain Cōḷa control of the north. In the years after Rājarāja we know the nature of the arrangements. In the face of Sinhala resistance for more than three quarter of a century, the Cōḷas kept control of the north. While it may not be described as imperial control and annexation to the empire, it was more than an acknowledgement of Cōḷa sovereignty. The use of Cōḷa territorial names, the employment of Cōḷa officials, the building of Śaiva temples named after Cōḷa royalty, the establishment of *brahmadēyas* and the grant of produce from villages in the island to the temple at the Cōḷa capital clearly indicate a very real Cola presence in Sri Lanka.

The overseas campaigns of Rājarāja were, therefore, an inevitable follow-up of the relations that had developed among the South Indian kingdoms and Sri Lanka in the previous centuries as well as the consequence of Rājarāja's endeavours to establish his hero-credentials. There is also the strong possibility that commercial motives too played a part in these campaigns.

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SOME RECENT THEORIES ON THE COLAS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

N.S.Ramaswami

The imperial Cōḻas had to reckon with powerful enemies like the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Pāṇḍyas. They have now, when they have become part of history, found another enemey. Some foreign scholars (Spencer, 1983) have discovered that they were no better than they should have been.

Progress in historical studies often involves revision of old views. When new evidence becomes available, as through excavations or discovery of literary texts, old opinions have necessarily to be modified, or perhaps even abandoned altogether. Sometimes the same evidence is re-interpreted to yield different conclusions.

But certain rules are fundamental to any re-evaluation. The historian must be sympathetic to his subject, animated by a desire to seek the truth, not to play the iconoclast or to play to the gallery. Secondly, he must understand local traditions and feelings, factors which produced the situation he is trying to read differently from his predecessors. The current foreign denigrators of the Colas observe neither rule.

The Cōḻas were profoundly imbued with what might be called the Tamil Hindu. spirit. They must be understood not only through their inscriptions and monuments but also through the Tamil literature of their own time and of subsequent times. If many of these Tamil works lead to a particular conclusion, the historian must accept it in preference to any conclusions he might have already drawn. If, for example, they say that Rājēndra invaded South-east Asia, he must accept the statement. The reason is simple. A foreign invasion was a matter of common knowledge even in a mediaeval state, and any writer who asserted that one took place when actually there was none would have been laughed at. Inscriptions might exaggerate, but they would not lie. It is inconceivable that the court poet, however slavish and servile, would commit himself to statements concerning national or international developments which the man in the street at the time would have known to be false. The poet might, conventionally, ascribe to his patron the triumphs of a formula or those of an ancestor of his. When he might say of the lord of a few square miles that he had conquered "Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga ....", he knew, and every one of those who read him knew, that this was only a formula. This was just like the formulae which some western leaders still bear. For example, the Sovereign of Britain calls herself "Defender of the Faith". But Queen

Elizabeth II claims what was not true even of Queen Elizabeth I four centuries ago. Long after they had lost their French territories, the kings of England continued to call themselves monarchs of France. There is something in the ethos of royalty the world, over that seems to encourage fertile self-glorification of this kind.

But the sympathetic historian understands this. He knows fully well that the monarchs of Britain since Elizabeth I have been Protestants and, therfore, cannot be "defenders" of Roman Catholicism. He will make allowance for the sentiment or sentimentality which prompts such aberrations.

The Cōḻas have not received this courtesy of scholarship. Nor have they received the benefit of understanding. Like everybody else, they were the children of their times and they acted as they did in obedience to the ethos of those times. If they are to be understood aright, the times in which they lived and the spirit of those times must be studied sympathetically.

When a foreign scholar mocks Rājēndra's Gaṅgā campaign as "such a long trip for water", he totally fails to understand the Cōḻa, and the Hindu spirit. To Hindus the Gaṅgā has been a river of particular sanctity, and its water has been held very sacred. That was why Rājēndra marched to the Gaṅgā banks.

In an earlier age, so tradition says, a predecessor of his marched to the Himalayas to procure a stone to fashion an image from. If a scholar ridicules Karikāla for making "such a long trip" for a stone, he totally fails to understand the faith that moves men and mountains, and his history becomes defective. It would be like ridiculing an American for eating turkey on Thanksgiving Day with particular solemnity, though he can eat it on many other days too.

Some foreign scholars have decreed that the Cōḻa State was "Segmentary", (Stein 1977) that it was so weak administratively that it had to subsist on plunder and that it had always to be creating an effect on its subjects for its survival. That was why they built so many temples and also why they sent expeditions to Sri Lanka and South-east Asia (though about the latter region some of these scholoars have doubts).

When a native of the country to which the Cōḻas had belonged reads their inscriptions, he gathers the impression that their State was organised adequately enough for the needs of the people. Local self-government had already taken roots in Pallava times and it was developed under the Cōḻas. The temples were not only centres of religion but also something like economic organisation, a kind of bank. They were also educational centres. They were at the very heart of contemporary life. It was through them that the Cōḻas administered the country to some extent. No one who reads the inscriptions in the Thanjavur temple, meticulously providing for its needs, a part of this coming even from Sri Lanka, can really think that the Cōḻa State was deficient in administration and administrators.

This is what Nilakanta Sastri (1984: 185) says of Rājarāja I's rule; "The accurate survey and assessment of the country for purposes of land-

revenue, the perfection of the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries of a modern administration, and the posting of representative officers of the central government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rājēndra than under himself, mark out Rājarāja as the greatest among the empire-builders of Southern India".

If Nilakantai Sastri was prejudiced in favour of the Cōḷas, an inscription he refers to dated "within a generation or so after the end of his (Rājarāja's) reign", shows that sections of Cōḷa subjects also admired the king.

A "segmentary" State could not have had an efficient navy. Therefore, the reputed invasion by Rājēndra I of South-east Asia was at best a mere 'raid' and at worst a 'lie'. Further, the Sri Vijaya empire which he is alleged to have invaded probably did not exist at all. Some excavations in Palembang, its reputed capital, produced no evidence. "Was there a far-flung maritime empire controlled by the ruler of Sri Vijaya at the time of Rājēndra's raid in A.D. 1025? On present evidence, we just don't know. There clearly was a state by that name in Rājēndra's day, but it appears as only one in the Tanjore list of thirteen, perhaps of no greater importance than the others" (Spencer 1983: 136). Perhaps the Cōḷas did make a raid, or perhaps "the fame and prosperity of those places was such that the poet who eulogized Rājēndra's exploits was convinced that their conquest constituted a glorious achievement". In other words, the court poet invented the Cōḷa raid. Such is another argument of the Cōḷa detractors.

Was it really true that the Cōḷas had no navy that could have carried thousands of soldiers across the Bay of Bengal, landed them on Malaysia and Indonesia, and kept them supplied? There is ample evidence that Indian shipping was quite efficient in the early centuries of the Christian era and also in the 13th century A.D. Quotations from the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" are trite, but they show what an experienced foreign sailor had seen for himself, that off the east coast of India there plied a variety of ships, many of considerable size. The Pallavas could mount successful naval expeditions against Sri Lanka. Then in the 13th century A.D. Marco Polo testifies to the presence of efficient Indian ships. Northcote Parkinson (1937: 322) writes, "To understand the ships made at Surat, the ancient ship-building centre of India, in imitation of the European ships, it is essential to know something of the vessels previously built there. And the first thing to remark about them is that they had been built in the same way for a very long period; certainly since the 13th century, when Marco Polo saw and described them with great accuracy. Unfortunately, there is some doubt whether the vessels he describes were actually Indian or whether they were Chinese craft trading to India. The ship-building methods, however, which he particularly noticed were characteristic of Indian shipping at a later period. Allowing them to have had a Chinese origin, it is hardly to be supposed that no ships were built in India in the 13th century or that those then built

were without the features Marco Polo describes".

Parkinson (1937:390) says in another passage, "Regarding the size of the ancient Indian ships there is a great deal of evidence dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. Nicolo Conti, for example, states that 'The Natives of India build some ships larger than ours, capable of containing 2000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts ....' Chinese influence there may have been, but it is evident that vessels of this description were actually built at Surat and Calicut. Sir H. Middleton saw a Surat ship in 1612 which was 153 feet long, 42 feet broad, 31 feet deep, and said to have a burthen of 1500 tons. There can be no question but that ships of this size existed in the Indian Ocean from a very early age and were still to be found there in the 17th century".

Indian ships, some of them warships, on this evidence, sailed the seas in the 13th to the 17th centuries. After that period, till about the middle of the 19th, the Bombay ship-builders constructed many famous vessels. Because Malabar teak was used, many of these vessels lasted extraordinarily long.

If Marco Polo, in the 13th century, could see sturdy ships off the west coast, there is no reason why only in the previous century the Cōḷas could not have had a fleet of warships off the east coast. If "much of the epigraphical evidence that historians have cited to denote professional military--and especially naval--organization must be set aside as unconvincing", there is ample literary evidence. Apart from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, which is sometimes quoted, there is the *Caṅkara Cōḻan Ulā*, which designates Rājēndra by the titles so frequently met with in epigraphy, as one who had captured the Gangā and Kaḍāram. A moving inscription states that Kulōttuṅga I presented an emerald from Cambodia to the Chidambaram temple. In fact, Kulōttuṅga seems to have been a veteran of South-east Asian travel before he came to the throne.

The sea blows strongly through many sections of Cōḷa epigraphy. The vanity of scepticism is a snare and a delusion. The Cōḷas administered their State in such wise that they had no need to plunder and pillage their neighbours because that was the compulsion of the "segmentary" State. If they did plunder and pillage, they did so according to the normal dictates of imperialism. In a foreign context, they were no worse imperialists than others. It is strange that they should be singled out for attack as imperialist exploiters and plunderers when that is the accepted implication of any imperialism.

The fact is that these doubts and accusations have arisen because of the theory of the "segmentary State". Because the Cōḷas had a weak and disorganised administration, they needed to plunder and pillage and, further, they could not possibly have maintained a professional army, much less a professional navy. But if, in fact, as Nilakanta Sastri has shown, the Cōḷa State was adequately enough administered, it did not need to become predatory or a jackal State. It had its own compulsions and momentum, and it discharged its historical role brilliantly.

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Tamil Civilization
Vol.3 No.2&3

OVERSEAS CONTACTS OF THE CŌḶAS FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

S.Gurumurthy

The Cōḷa period from 10th to 12th centuries may be considered as a period of economic expansion and international trade activities. These centuries constituted a period which witnessed the emergence of new powers in other parts of Asia too. For instance, the Burmese at Pagan (A.D. 1014), the Khmers in Ankor (A.D. 950), the Sung dynasty in China (A.D.960) were some of the contemporary powers which took keen interest in the promotion of overseas trade contacts with countries centring around the Mediterranean region, the Middle East etc.

There are numerous references to the international trade and foreign diplomacy of the Cōḷas in the Egyptian and Chinese records, besides in the temple inscriptions of South India. According to these sources, the emergence of these powers accelerated the maritime commercial activities of Asian countries as also the international trading communities to travel across the Ocean connecting eastern and western Asia.

According to Chinese sources South Indian ports were rated as "Good ports" and intensive trade activities were centring around the Coromandal ports. The commercial activities of the Cōḷa ports were administered and regularised by a set of trade organisations. These organisations had not only assumed administrative control over major trade centres within the Cōḷa empire, but also organised the smooth and steady flow of indigenous products into the ports and from where the Cōḷa products may be pushed into the international markets. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Cōḷas achieved tremendous success in their overseas trade on account of the efficient role played by the local merchants as well as by the way the inland trade was institutionalised. These merchants organised various powerful regional commercial organisations which undertook the responsibility of transporting the local products into the coastal centres.

Further, it may be interesting to note that there were government officials appointed to look after the administrations of the ports (Hall 1980: 165). They were helped in their task by the merchant organisations and local assemblies. The activities of the foreign merchants and their contacts with the local people were regularised by the Government officials. This organisational setup in the harbours was mainly responsible for the development and expansion of trade activities across the seas. The levy

of cesses on various luxury articles brought to the ports by foreign merchants had increased the revenue of the Government to a considerable extent. That is why the Cōlas paid special attention to the improvement of ports and overseas contacts.

There were big and small ports in the Cōla territory. The ports on the sea coasts were known as 'Paṭṭiṇam' and those on the inland as 'ērivīra-pattiṇam'. However, 'paṭtinams' were handling the exports and imports.

Among the Cōla ports, Kāvērippūm-paṭṭinam, Māmallapuram, Nāgapaṭṭinam, Viṣākapaṭṭiṇam Tiruvaḍandai (near Madras), Mylapore (Modern Santhome), Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and Cuddalore deserve mention as they are mentioned in their inscriptions as coastal and commercial centres having contacts with overseas countries as well as with inland trading centres. There are both archaeological and literary evidences to confirm the international relations of the Cōlas and their overseas trade contacts. For instance, Kāvērippūmpaṭṭinam was flourishing as a major port during the early Cōla period and *Pattiṇappālai* gives a vivid discription of the handling of cargo at this port and the levies charged on the cargo brought in by foreign ships as also the duty put on goods to be exported. These goods were marked with the Cōla royal emblem, tiger. The excavations conducted at this port site confirmed what is said about it in *Paṭṭiṇappālai*. Remnants of a warehouse, Roman pottery, lamp etc., have been unearthed from the site and they suggest that Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṇam was a flourishing port during the Śaṅgam age as also in the subsequent periods. Nāgapaṭṭiṇam was the next important port and there were commercial quarters in the city. The inscriptions record that there were mechants from different parts of India such as Quilon and Kolhapur, residing at the city to fetch and export the goods to North India (*ARE* 1956-57: 152,155,162). Merchants from South East Asia made frequent visits to Nagapattinam during the reign of Rājarāja and his son and successor Rājēndra. It was a commercially oriented port with an eye to develop overseas trade contacts. It is well known that during Rājarāja's time, a Buddhist *Vihāra* was built at this port city for the use of the merchants from Śrī Vijaya and other South East Asian countries. The Cōla inscriptions give a detailed account of the articles brought to this port from distant countries, and how they were exchanged for gold and the articles of the Cōla country (*SII* VIII: 442; *ARE* 1956: 161, 164, 166). Rājarāja gifted lands to the Buddhist *Vihāra* at this place only with a view to attract the merchants from Śrī Vijaya. During the time of Rājēndra the relations between Śrī Vijaya and the Cōlas were further cemented and the Śrī Vijaya king made several gifts of gold to Nagapattinam *Vihāra*. It is believed that these gifts were made to improve the relations between the two powers. But at the same time, it is surprising to note that Rājēndra sent a naval expedition to threaten the Śrī Vijaya king and to plunder the island. It may also be interesting to note that the transactions between Śrī Vijaya and the Cōla country were done through exchange of gold known as *Ciṇākkanakam* (Chinese gold) (*ARE* 1956-5, 166). This fact shows that there was a large inflow of gold during this period.

The merchants from the Cōla territory went to foreign countries in connection with their business

and earned a lot of money. They were really wealthy as indicated by their liberal grants and gifts made to local temples in those far off countries. To cite an example, a merchant from the village of Maṇigrāmam (near Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṇam) made endowments to a temple built at Takuapa on the Malay peninsula. This tempe was built by the South Indian merchants for their use, as the Nagapattinam *Vihāra* was built for those from South East Asia. This is yet another instance to show how influencial the Cōḷa merchants were and their status in the global trade activities.

Visākapaṭṭinam, was yet another port receiving products from the Malabar coastal areas. The traders (known as *Añjuvannattārs)* from that region were active at the port during the time of Kulōttuṅga I. The port city was even named after that king as *Kulōttuṅga-Cōḷa-paṭṭinam.*

The Cōḷas had established commercial contacts with many foreign countries such as Śrī Vijaya, Cambodia, Java, China, Burma, Ceylon, etc. These contacts are mentioned in their inscriptions. For example, there is a reference to a king of Cambodia sending presents to Rājēndra I *(EI V*, p.105). The Cōḷas, during Rājēndra's time, had control over Ceylon and naturally that would have improved their commercial transactions with this island. During the reign of Kulōttuṅga I attempts were made to establish contacts with Burma and China. An inscription of the Burmese king Kyanzittha of Pagan (1077 A.D.) mentions the desire of the king to establish contacts with the Cola ruler)(*Epigraphia Birmanica*, I, VIII, p.165). Chinese records also confirm his relations with them. Other Chinese records throw a flood of light on the commercial contacts the Chinese had with the Cōḷa ports. Commodities such as spices, drugs, ivory, coral, pearl, etc., were exported to China. Chinese were very much interested in the silk produced in the Cōḷa kingdom. The Tamil word for silk is *Paṭṭu* and it is mentioned in the inscriptions too. It was the silk produced by silk worms breeding on the mulberry trees. The Cōḷa region could have grown mulberry trees during that period and the Chinese records refer to the coloured silk threads of the Cōḷa kingdom. They seem to have been produced near the modern Paṭṭukkōṭṭai near Thanjavur (Pattukkottai in Tamil may mean centre for silk production). This is well attested by the find of Chinese coins in the vicinity of Paṭṭukkōṭṭai. They are dated from about the 2nd century B.C. to the 10th century A.D.[1] But it must also be noted that Chinese and Egyptian silk of fine quality were imported into South India. That suggests fine quality foreign merchandise had a ready market in South India, though the same goods were produced locally. This state of affairs has not changed even to-day.

Intensive explorations at Nagapattinam have yielded Chinese celadonware of 10-11th centuries A.D., as also copper coins of Rājarāja.[2] Collection of celadonware sherds has been also made from many sites in and around Nagapattinam. This largely confirms the contacts of this region with China in medieval times.

Excavations at Nagapattinam as well as in the coastal areas in Tanjavur district will yield more material on the commercial contacts of the Cōḷas with South East Asia and China.

NOTES

1. These coins are now with the Government Museum, Madras.

2. The author collected these sherds during his fieldwork.

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SII V & VIII .

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Tamil Civilization
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A STUDY OF THE OFFICE CALLED NAḌUVIRUKKUM IN THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE CŌḺAS

P.Venkatesan.

In the central administration of the Cōḻas, the office called *naḍu-virukkum* appears to have been very important and in this paper it is proposed to find out its functions with the help of the inscriptions already published. The office *naḍu-virukkum* is undoubtedly the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit term *madh-yastha*, an office which figures in many Cōḻa inscriptions. But the functions of *naḍuvirukkum* and *madh-yastha* are however different. The term *naḍuvirukkum* is made of two words *viz*., *naḍu* + *irukkum* which stands respectively for *madhya* + *stha*. While the office of *madhyastha* was attached to the local or village administration, the office of *naḍu-virukkum* was related to the Central government, of the imperial Cōḻas. Authors on South Indian history feel that the *naḍuvirukkum* officers were arbitrators. But a close study of inscriptions reveal that apart from arbitration, they had many other functions, as will be seen in the sequel.

This office appears to have existed since the days of Uttamacōḻa, as it occurs for the first time in an inscription dated in A.D.984 of the king from Tirumālpuram in the North Arcot District (*SII* III:142). In this inscription, a person named Payalai Tiyambakka-bhaṭṭar, described as holding the office of *naḍuvirukkum* figures as *vāykēḻvi* and *āṇatti*, which shows that he heard the royal order and communicated the same to the concerned officials.

The number of persons holding this office increased during the reign of Rājarāja I, whose inscriptions record the names of several persons who were holding this office. Payalai Tiyambakka-bhaṭṭar, with whom the office seems to have existed during the days of Uttama-cōḻa, continued to hold this office during the time of Rājarāja I also. The office, which at first combined in itself the functions of *vāykēḻvi* and *āṇatti*, with the passage of time, seems to have performed functions of varied nature. An inscription dated in the 11th regnal year of Rājarāja I (*ARE* 1911:280) from Tilla-sthanam records that the same Payalai Tiyambakka-bhaṭṭar, who was a *naḍuvirukkum* officer collected penalty (*daṇḍam*) in the form of gold from one Niṉṟāṉ - kūttaṉ of kīḻ-ādaṉūr and endowed the same to the local temple for food offerings. The larger Leiden plates (*EI* XXII:34) record that the state deputed some officials to co-operate with the local bodies in the conduct of their business, viz., marking the boundary of the

gift village Āṉaımaṅgalam. One of the officers thus deputed was *naḍuvirukkum*. In an inscription dated in A.D.1008 from Tiruvalañjuli in Thanjavur District (*SII* VIII:222) four persons, viz., Kōṭṭaiyūr - pūvatta-bhaṭṭar, Payalai Tiyambakka-bhaṭṭar, Pullamaṅgalattu parameśvara-bhaṭṭar, described as *sarvakratuyāji* and *Kaḍa-laṅguḍi Dāmodara-bhaṭṭar*, who were holding the office of *naḍuvirukkum* are stated to have been present at the time when the royal grant was being entered into the register. This points, probably, to their role as witness to the royal commands, when it was entered into the records. In another inscription (*SII* VIII:223) dated in A.D.1009 from the same place, two *naḍuvirukkum* officers, *viz*., Koṭṭaiyūr puvatta-bhattar and Kaḍalaṅguḍi Dāmodara-bhaṭṭar were stated to have conveyed the royal command to certain revenue officials, (*Puravuvari* and *varippottagom)* for making necessary entries into the tax registers. In yet another inscription, dated in A.D.1014 of Rājarāja I, found in the Rājarājeśvara temple in Thanjavur (*SII* II:95), some *naḍuvirukkum* officers viz., Koṭṭaiyūr Sāvanti-bhaṭṭar, Puvattan puvattanar, Kaḍalaṅguḍi Dāmodara-bhaṭṭar and Koṭṭaiyūr Sūvara-bhaṭṭar pūvatta-bhaṭṭnar appear as donors, making provision for lamps in the temple built by Rājarāja I.

Rājēndra I continued the tradition of his father, as seen from his epi-graphs, which refer to this office. In this period we find that this office enjoyed more powers, and they had the privilege of sitting in palaces or halls etc., and discharging their duties. An inscription dated in the 4th regnal year of the king from Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District states that Koṭṭaiyur pūvatta-bhaṭṭar *somayājiyar*, a *naḍuvirukkum* officer since the time of Rājarāja I, was seated in the hall (throne?) of Arumoḻi-devaṉ at Mēlpāḍi and audited the temple account (Sastri 1935:38). The scale of expenses of this temple was fixed by him in conformity with the inscriptions engraved on the walls of the temple. In the Tiruvālaṅ-gāḍu plates (*SII* III:205) dated in A.D.1018, a *naḍuvirukkum* officer by name Kandāḍai Tıruvēṅkaḍa-bhaṭṭar conveyed the order of the king to the revenue officials for making entry into the concerned registers. In the Karandai Tamil Sangam copper plates of Rājēndra cōḻa I (*MASI*, No.79), two *naḍuvirukkum* officers by name pullamaṅgalattu Parameś-vara-bhaṭṭar sarvakṛatuyāji, holding this office since the time of Rājarāja I and Tıṭṭakuḍı Sadāśiva-bhaṭṭar Somayāji figure as passing the royal order to the effect that it was enter-ed into the account books. In an inscription of the same king from Kanjipuram (*SII* I:149), one Kandāḍai Tiruvēṅkaḍa bhaṭṭar is stated to have held this office. In yet another inscription, from Tırunāgeś-varam (*SII* VI:33), one Tiruppattūr Śrī Krishṇāpura Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭar, who figures as *naḍuvirukkum* officer made some gift to the temple.

During the time of Vīra-rājēndra, there are three epigraphs, which refer to this office. In an inscription from Tirumukkūḍal (*EI* XXI:38) three *naḍuvirukkum* officers viz., Urupputtūr Yajña-bhaṭṭar, Sāyavaṇa Śivalājjātı bhaṭṭar, and Karippurattu cōḻadēva bhaṭṭar are described as passing on the royal order to the concerned officials for making entry into the registers. In another inscription from Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa Colapuram (*SII* IV:529), six *naḍuvirukkum* officers

viz., Nālūr Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭar, Vamgip-puruttu.......bhaṭṭar, Attampurattu.......-bhaṭṭar, Iruṅgaṇḍi Vēṅkaḍa-bhaṭṭar, Karippurattu Śrī mādava-bhaṭṭar Somayajiyar and Śivadeva-bhaṭṭar are described in the same way as in the epigraph mentioned above.

After Vīra-rājēndra, the office seems to have had an abrupt end. For, we do not come across any reference to this office until A.D.1264 when an inscription at Tiruvārūr (*SII* XVII:603) refers to a *naḍuvirukkai* as a signatory to a code of conduct evolved at a meeting of the artisan classes. We are not sure of the exact cause, which led to its ultimate decline. From the above survey, the following conclusions can be arrived at.

1) The office seems to have existed since the days of Uttama and continued actively during the time of his successors *viz.*, Rājarāja I, Rājēndra I and Vīrarājēndra and thereafter had an abrupt end. The *naḍuvirukkum* officers acted as liaison officers, arbitrators, enforcement officers and also sometimes as auditors. Only Brāhmaṇas, well versed in *śāstras viz.*, *bhaṭṭars* appear to have held this office. The titles *viz.*, *Sarvakṛutuyāji* and *Somayāji* etc., borne by some of these officials attest to this fact. It is also evident that at the beginning i.e., during the time of Uttama, only one person seems to have held the office and with the passage of time commensurate with the workload, more and more persons came to be appointed. Though this office existed only for a short period, it played a significant role in the imperial administration.

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CŌḺA CHARTERS: SOCIO - ECONOMIC ASPECTS

K.G.Krishnan.

Velancheri near Tiruttani has yielded the earliest copper-plate charter of the Cōḻas. This charter (Nagaswamy 1979) issued on the 193rd day in the 25th year (932 AD) in the reign of Parāntaka I, is described as a *paradatti* i.e. grant made by persons other than the king as against *svadatti* hardly mentioned in the records. Every grant of land, gold or any commodity is an economic event involving a transfer of the same from the owner to the donee, whether a sale or a gift. The incidence of taxes has to be touched upon in any such transaction leading to a statement to the effect whether the taxes were reduced or exemption was ordered. This factor brings in the introduction of the king or the local government. The expression *paradatti* was used where the king himself is not the donor.

According to this copper plate three villages, viz., Tāḻaivēḍu, Mayaṅgāṟu and Kīḻagal were cancelled in the register from the previous holders and added to Mēl-Iruñchēru a village of Vedic scholars, with the stipulation that 3000 *kāḍi* of paddy as *pañcavāra* and 9 *kalañju* of *poṉ* should be paid to the deity Subrahmaṇya at Tiruttaṇiyal. But the *sabhaiyār* of the village were exempted from the payment of tax (*iṟai*) in kind (paddy) and in cash (gold) by way of many other (local) taxes that are due to the government (*ko*) such as *ūrp-paḍiṉkāḍi*, *nallā*, *nellerudu*, *nāḍāṭchi*, etc. The rights of irrigation were also granted to the exclusion of others.

The charter which is declared a *paradatti* implies that the real donor was not the king in whose name tne record was issued. Brahmādhirāja, the *vijñapti* who petitions to the king for his approval regarding the arrangement in respect of taxes, was the real donor. The king had only given up his share of the taxes (*pañcavāra*) now assigned to the deity. The obligation of paying the same was transferred to the new owner-proprietors from the previous cultivating or owner-proprietors. The fact that the latter might have been compensated (as a matter of economic justice) belongs to the unwritten part of the entire transaction. The *sabhaiyar* of Mēl-Iruñcheru were left to reap any benefit, if available, out of the surplus that might remain after the payment of *pañcavāram* and expenses towards the administration of the new lands brought under their charge. The grant is not declared as *iṟaiyili-brahmadēyam*, though the exemption

from local taxes to be paid in kind and in cash was granted.

In so far as the king is concerned, this charter serves as a document proclaiming his achievements including the merit of having given up the government's share of the produce in favour of a famous deity.

The next charter (*SII* II: 375 ff), belonging to the time of the same Cōḷa king Parāntaka I, pertains to a similar addition of a village Kaḍaikkōṭṭūr to Udaiyachandramaṅgalam at the instance of the Cōḷa feudatory Gaṅga Prithivīpati (II) fixing the payment of 1000 *kāḍi* of paddy as tax *(puravu)* to the local Government, care being taken to exclude two pieces of land belonging to the Jaina faith. The village was renamed Vīranārāyaṇachchēri after the king, thus forming part of the *brahmadēya* village Udayacandramaṅgalam. It is obvious that the arrangement was made by the Gaṅga chief. Dated in the 15th year (922 A.D.) this grant compares well with the one described above. The word *puravu* is used in the place of *pañcavāra*.

Anbil plates of Sundaracōḷa is the next important charter *(EI* XV:44 ff). It is addressed to the *brahmadēyakkiḻavar*, *nāṭṭār*, *dēvadānap-paḷḷiccanda*, *kaṇi-murrūṭṭu ūrkaḷilār*, i.e., the authorities of the villages held by brāhmaṇas, the authorities of the *nāḍu*, the authorities of the villages endowed for Vedic deities, non-Vedic establishments and for the learned teachers (non-brāhmaṇical).[1] This was also a *paradatti* grant. A brahmādhirāja, whose name is not given, petitions the king and on his approval, arranges for a grant of lands in a village for the complete enjoyment of another brahmadhiraja famous in the Vaishṇavite annals (Aniruddha, son of Nārāyaṇa). The term used is *ēkabhōga* i.e. enjoyable by himself alone without any liability or obligation. The use of the word *sarva-parihāra* implies total exemption from all obligation. The previous holders are removed. The previous assessment is also cancelled. Brahmādhirāja, the real donor must have arranged for sufficient compensation in this respect and also guaranteed for the loss of tax-income for the state by agreeing to make it good by himself.

The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates of Rājēndra (*SII* III: 383 ff) provide an instance of reverse action, i.e., transfer of lands in Paḷaiyaṉūr from the charge of a *brahmadēya* (Simhalāntaka-caturvēdimaṅgalam) to the Śiva temple of Tiruvālaṅkāḍu as a *dēvadāna*. The permanently fixed tax *(niṉrirai)* was required to be paid to the deity with no other obligation.

The Larger Leiden plates of Rājarāja I issued by his son Rājēndra assign the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam along with all income including the land tax described as *irai kaṭṭiṉa kāṇikkaḍaṉ* i.e. tax payable duty bound in lieu of the enjoyment of ownership *(kāṇi)* and also the income from all local taxes to the Buddhistic monastic establishment called Chūdāmaṇi-vihāra founded by the Śrīvijaya king of that name *(EI* XXII:213 ff).

The Karandai Tamil Sângam Plates of Rājēndra, the biggest plates ever discovered deal with the creation of a big settlement for 1080 Vedic scholars covering an area of 3135 *veli* out of 57 villages south of Veṇṇār

bank east of Tanjavur (Krishnan 1984). This is declared a *paradatti* implying thereby that Narākkaṉ Mārāyaṉ Jananāthan *alias* Rājēndra-cōḻa-brahmādhirājan at whose instance the settlement was formed, was the real donor. The king after whose mother's name the settlement was named Tribhuvanamahādēvi-caturvēdi-maṅgalam, stepped in only to ratify the scheme and to grant the necessary exemption from the local taxes. The names of all the villages forming this settlement were removed from the register of lands owned *(kāṇi)* by non-brahmanical agriculturists *(vellāṉ)*. The fact of compensation which should have been paid to the previous owners is not recorded. The entire arrangement was a private one, approved by the king. The new owners, the Vedic scholars, were required however to pay the land tax at a staggered rate upto the third year from the date of the grant and at the full assessed rate from the fourth year onwards. They were exempted from the payment of all local taxes according to the conventions obtained in the *brahmadēya* type of villages, which in the very nature of things will be required by them for administrative expenditure in their self-governing units. They were given also the freedom of choosing the cultivating tenants since the rights of existing tenants had been removed *(kuḍi-nīkki)*.

Everything else in the villages except the cultivated lands in the enjoyment of private parties was excluded. The lands of the various deities and the settlements of the original inhabitants of all types, the cremation grounds, channels, tanks etc. were excluded both from the grant and assessment. The total land actually assessed was to the extent of 2515-3/4 *vēli* and odd and the amounts to be paid in kind and cash were 51050 *kalam* of paddy and income from tax on fishing 32-1/2 *kasu* and 65 *akkam*. These were required to be paid as *niṉṟiṟai* i.e. permanently fixed tax.

The foregoing account of the charters throw in relief the following points pertaining to the impact on the economy.

The practice of founding settlements of the Vedic scholars in well-marked areas continued from the Pallava times. While all encouragement to the feudatories or the brahmana officers themselves close to the king who undertook to do so on their own was given, no section of the society or even the state was allowed to suffer in the process. Since this practice involved a big social effort, all sections seem to have lent a willing hand in carrying out the same, leaving no trace of bitterness on record. It is obvious that the cultivators continued to practise their vocations undisturbed as it is basic to the very existence of people, brahmin or otherwise. Shares were allotted to other supporting sections of the society like the Śivabrāhmanas, Vaikhānasas, the doctor, the astrologer, the teacher, the potter, the smiths, etc. The Sanskrit sections of these charters assert that these grants were made with a view to sustain the religious or spiritual life of the donees. The Tamil sections provided the legal drafts of the transaction.

The state was never the loser as *none* of the grants, except in the case of Anbil plates, was made tax-free. On the other hand, there

is reason to believe that these arangements were made with a view to influence the mode of local government leading to the improvement of life for all, in all its aspects including agriculture.

Land tax continued to be the mainstay of revenue irrespective of the nature of the grants. This was ensured by excluding all the inhabitants of the villages affected by the grant from the conditions laid down therein. The context in which the contemporary society was placed has made this social effort possible and smooth.

NOTE

1. *Kaṇi* does not stand for the astrologer; but refers to the learned men of the village who teach. See p.33, note 2 in Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates of Rājēndrachoḷa I-8th year - Memoir, A.S.I.

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THE *SABHA* AND *PARISAD* IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SOUTH INDIA: CORRELATION OF EPIGRAPHIC AND *DHARMAŚĀSTRAIC* EVIDENCES

Kesavan Veluthat

The relatively autonomous local groups in South India known as the *sabha* and *parisad* have received much treatment in the hands of historians ever since the decipherment and publication of the numerous inscriptions pertaining to them.[1] It is now agreed on almost all hands that they were oligarchic caste corporations of a class of non-cultivating intermediaries placed between the cultivating peasantry on the one hand and the state on the other, and also that they wielded much of the administrative, fiscal and judicial powers. In exposing the nature of these bodies earlier scholars depended mostly on epigraphic evidences. Most writers did not even recognise the existence of another source of information regarding these bodies. Scholars like K.A.Nilakanta Sastri and S.Krishnaswami Iyengar had, of course, a knowledge of the relevance of this source. For instance, Nilakanta Sastri (1975;487), speaking about the *sabha*, says:

> The village assemblies and the groups alike derived their authority from ancient custom and ideal right (Dharma)......What was right in each case depended on the circumstances, and on the application to them of enlightened reason informed by the principles of the law codes (smṛti) and precedents, if any.

Apart from these and similar casual statements, there is no attempt to correlate the data available from the inscriptions with those contained in the text-books of *Dharmaśāstras* (Krishnaswami Aiyangar 1932). The present paper embodies the results of such an attempt, keeping in mind that the inscriptions record transactions of these bodies while the *Dharmaśāstras* lay down the principles of the ideal types. This correlation could be done by checking the details of the constitution, jurisdiction, procedure and enforcement of the decisions of these bodies given in the two different sources. This would be helpful in clarifying certain statements in the one source with reference to the other, and finally in placing the local groups in South India in the larger context of Indian civilization in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods when the major text-books of *Dharmaśāstras* were standardized.

I

The inscriptions from different parts of South India shed light on the constitution of these bodies. It is stated that only the residents

of the village, who own a full share of property and who are proficient in the *mantrabrāhmaṇas* together with one *dharma*, and with good antecedents, could transact business in the *sabha* (*EI* XXII:9-11). The famous inscriptions of Uttaramērūr prescribe expertise in the *Vedas*, *Sastras* and *Karya*, and the knowledge of *mantrabrāhmaṇa* and ability to teach the Vedas.[2] There are also conditions regarding the age of the members, namely, between thirty and sixty in the case of the first inscription, and betweeen thirtyfive and seventy in the case of the second inscription. This second inscription makes the property qualification all the clearer by allowing a concession for those who own only a 1/8 share of the property provided they know one *Veda* and four *bhāṣyas* with ability to teach one *bhāsya* with commentary. Both the records prescribe "material and spiritual purity" as another quality.[3] These and similar statements in the numerous records as well as the general picture delineated from the details of the procedure of such bodies in the inscriptions everywhere in South India go to prove the brahmanical character of these bodies as also the fact that only owners of property had any right in it.

Another body prominently mentioned in inscriptions is, the *paraṭai*, written variously as *pariḍai*, *paruḍai* and *mūlaparuḍai*, evidently a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Pariṣad*. This body in Cōḷa inscriptions is said to be constituted for a specific purpose, generally the management of affairs in a particular temple or shrine (Nilakanta Sastri 1975:489). However, a slightly different picture is presented by an inscription from Srinivasanallur where the *mūlaparudai* appoints the *Vāriyam* charged with the specific duty of describing authoritatively, and recording, the *iraiyili* and *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Mahēndramaṅgalam (*Ibid*, 495). Another inscription, "which is of unusual importance", from Senganur records the constitutional and other arrangements relating to the *mahāsabha* of the village. Here, the *mūlaparusaiyār* of the Visvesvaradevar Koyil meet in full strength and regulate the affairs of the village (*ARE* 1932:89). From this last record, it is appparent that this body had a legal-judicial jurisdiction, especially in cases of doubt.[4] That the *mūlaparuḍai* was not altogether an "external authority" is borne out even by the inscriptions quoted by Nilakanta Sastri himself; further evidence from Sucindram makes it still clearer (Pillay 1953: 145-46 etc.). A large number of Cera inscriptioons from Kerala go even to suggest that the *Paraṭai* or *pariṣad* was an executive council of the brāhmaṇa village assemblies which looked into the day-to-day affairs of the temple forming the pivot round which the activities of the village revolved.[5] It appears that in these cases the *paratai* was chosen from among the members of the *sabha* themselves and it is clear from the inscriptions that they were invariably brāhmaṇs (Veluthat 1978:65 n.23).

The examination of the nature of the *pariṣad* and the *sabha* in the South Indian context has so far been made in the light of epigraphy alone. But the statements in the *Dharmaśāstras* provide more details in regard to the constitution, procedure and functioning of this body.[6] The *Dharmaśāstra* texts in a clear manner, and the earlier *Dharmasūtras* implicitly, prescribe

the following qualifications for the members of the *sabha:* they should be elderly, endowed with the study of the *Vedas,* should know the *Dharmaśāstras,* should speak the truth, should be impartial to friend or foe, should be steady, devoted to their work and proficient in the Arthaśāstras.[7] This makes it very clear that the qualifications prescribed in the South Indian inscriptions as described in the earlier section are similar to, if not identical with, those laid down in the *Śāstra* texts.[8] Similarly, in the case of the *pariṣad* there is a set of qualifications expected of the members in the *Dharmaśāstras.*[9] Here it is specifically stated that to this body was referred judicial questions where the members of the *sabha* failed to reach agreement or a satisfactory decision. This would dispel Professor Nilakanta Sastri's doubt as to "why... the *Mahāsabha. . . .* left the decision ....to the *mūla-parusar".*[10]

As in the case of the constitution and jurisdiction, so in the spheres of the procedure in arriving at and enforcing the decisions of these bodies, there is an equally striking correspondence between the two sources of information. The South Indian epigraphical records generally point out that these bodies met in full strength. There was no prescribed quorum and the practice was that all members participated.[11] So also, decisions were made unanimously.[12] The decisions, arrived at by these bodies in such meetings, were usually recorded on stone or copper and were known as *kaccam, kāriyam, karumam* (Skt. *Kārya* or *Karma)* and *cavattai* (Skt. *vyavastha).* It is stated that the meetings were held in the presence of the king or his representative or, at least, under his direction.[13] Punishments of various kinds were imposed on those who violated these decisions. These included the exaction of fines, confiscation of property, forfeiture of membership in the bodies like the *sabha* and *parisad* and even excommunication (Veluthat 1978:57- 8). In some cases, those who disobeyed the decisions were equated with sinners, as if involved in parricide or incest with one's own mother; killed one's own teacher or involved in such sins as **brahmahatya** or *gohatya* on a massive scale.[14] Such provisions make it clear as to how the decisions of these bodies were enforced among the members of the bodies themselves.

The prescriptions in the *śāstra* literature on these aspects are strikingly similar to the practices seen in the epigraphical records. On the number of *siṣṭas* constituting a *pariṣad,* there is difference among the different authorities (Kane 1930-53 II:968-69). However, it is clear from the different statements that once such a body was constituted, the decisions were made by the body as a whole. So also, there is a lot of literature insisting on the unanimity of decision by the *sabha* and *pariṣad.*[15] The presence of the ruler in the meeting either in person or by a deputy is also expected as suggested by Parāsara (Kane 1930-53 II (ii);970).

Again, the punishments prescribed for deviation from the regular course of conduct of the *sabha* by individual members are also interesting. According to Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana, if a *sabhya* gave a decision opposed

to *smṛti* on accoount of friendship, ignorance, greed, etc., he was to be fined (Kane 1930-53 III:275). The *Visnudharmasūtra* prescribes confiscation of the entire property of a judge who lives by bribes and equates him with a false witness.[16] However, on this aspect of the problem, namely the enforcement of the decisions of these bodies among the members of the bodies the *Dharmaśāstra* are not nearly as elaborate as the inscriptions themselves.

II

The above discussion shows clearly that the local bodies in South India were modelled exactly on the lines prescribed in the ancient text-books of statecraft and social and judicial conduct known as the *Dharmaśāstra*. Historians writing on these bodies in South India have generally missed this point and have considered these "self-governing", "democratic", "popular" assemblies as entirely born out of the Tamil soil, representing a high state of civilization in the Tamil country with a highly centralised and bureaucratised empire co-existing with the autonomous and democratic popular assemblies at the local levels. While this might cater to the regionalist sectarian sentiments, perhaps of politicians, the historian is bound to take a different look at the situation. On such an observation, the conclusion is irresistible that the *sabha* and *pariṣad* followed the prescriptions in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature, which were produced in Northern India within the matrix of the emerging "Hindu" civilization epitomised by the Gupta empire. Therefore, it follows that the brahmanical bodies in South India formed part of a larger pattern that covered the entire subcontinent.

At the same time, one should not miss the dfferences in detail. While the *sabha* and *pariṣad* in the *Dharmaśāstras* represent generally judicial bodies, those in South India are concerned mostly with the management of the economic and fiscal affairs of the *agrahāra* settlement and the *brahmadēyas* connected to it. They certainly did look after judicial business, though. That a change from the situation in the *Dharmaśāstras* to that in the South Indian inscriptions is noticeable is significant but not surprising in view of the temporal and spatial distance between the two. What is more important is that on the one side we have the prescriptions laid down mainly in the heartland of the Gupta empire, and on the other side are the descriptions of the execution of such prescriptions. In other words, we find in the South Indian records the institutional expression of the *Dharmaśāstraic* ideas through the *agrahāra* settlements.

In fact, the *agrahāra* settlements of brāhmanas in South India were created on the lines of similar ones in the North of an earlier period by means of land grants. Even these land grants to brahmanas both in Northern and Southern India were following the injunctions prescribed in the *Śāstra* literature. It is not surprising that both the recipients of these land grants and the authors of the literature were the priestly landowning class

of brāhmaṇas, who created an ideology which not only justified the practice but even made it obligatory by making it part of the *dharma* (Narayanan 1980). The literature of the *Dharmaśāstras* abounds in eulogising grant of land to brāhmaṇas and settling them down in *agrahāras*. Although we have a large number of copper plate inscriptions from different parts of Northern India recording such land grants and the creation of *agrahāra* settlements, there are few records in the North which throw light on the actual working of the *agrahāras*. It is in this respect that the South Indian records acquire significance: they bring to light the mechanics of the *agrahāras* in action.

It has been shown that granting land to brahmanas and the creation of *agrahāra* settlements with the administrative, judicial and fiscal powers ushered in a new phase of history in India. This has been rightly described as "Indian Feudalism", where a numerous class of landed intermediaries with an infinitely graduated scale of political and social status was placed between the state and peasantry (Sharma 1965). These land grants demonstrate the creation of such an intermediary class or classes, with superior right in land. In the epigraphical records of South India, a step further could be taken by the historian. They present the picture of the *agrahāra* settlements wielding such powers as are alienated to them by virtue of the land grants. In other words if the land grants in copper plates may be said to present the picture of the genesis of "Indian Feudalism", the village committee resolutions, mostly on stone, in South India record the working of "Indian Feudalism", thereby adding a new dimension to our understanding of the mechanism and implications of this social formation in medieval India.

In this light, the differences in detail between the jurisdiction of the organs of the *agrahāras* like the *sabha* and *pariṣad* as laid down in the *Dharmaśāstra* texts on the one side and as presented by the South Indian inscriptions on the other, could be explained. Once the priestly brāhmaṇical class was established in South India as a landed intermediary and as the feudalising agency, with their traditions of socio-political organisation conforming to the model set by the *Dharmaśāstras*, they formed their institutions also on the very same model. By adopting every detail of the functioning of these administrative-judicial-fiscal bodies in the pattern set by the text books of *Dharmaśāstra*, an ideology which lent legitimacy and support to the interest of this new landed intermediary was being made use of. In other words, the zealous safeguarding of the class interests was made part of *dharma*, and was thus sanctified. Thus, what was presented by scholars as representing an entirely Tamil feature is revealed as part of an all Indian pattern, part of an emerging formation in the economic, social and political spheres of life.

NOTES

1. There are excellent studies on the *sabha* and *pariṣad* in South India. Among the more important are K.A.Nilakanta Sastri 1975:

486-503; T.V.Mahalingam 1967:346-67; C.Minakshi 1977:141-33. M.G.S. Narayanan 1972.

2. The texts of these two Uttaramērūr inscriptions have been quoted by almost every author writing on Cōḻa Country. I have used the reproduction of the text in Nilakanta Sastri (1932:163-69).

3. Venkayya, who read the records for the first time, translated the phrase *arthasaucamum ātmasaucamum uḍaiyār* as he who "possesses honest earnings and has a pure mind" (*ARASI*, 1904-5: 138). I have adopted the translation of Nilakanta Sastri. Nilakanta Sastri is reminded of the *upadhasauca* of the *Arthaśāstra*, "though in the context they seem to be used in a loose technical sense". Reference is also made to *Tirukkural*. V.501.

4. *Contra*, Nilakanta Sastri (1975: 500-1): "It is not clear why the *Mahāsabha* (mentioned further on in the record) instead of following the usual rule of itself regulating its own affairs, left the decision of important issues to the *mūlaparusai*; we may surmise, however, from the trend of the record as a whole that the *Mahāsabha* was unable to reach satisfactory decisions on account of sharp differences, and felt the need for laying the matter for some external authority for arbitration".

5. For a detailed study of the organization and administration of the temple-centred brahman settlements in Kerala under the later Cēra kingdom, see (Veluthat 1978: 52-67).

6. In a recent exposition of the problem of the ascertainment of *dharma* in the Hindu texts J.Duncan M.Derrett (1978:18-66) has marshalled together evidence in the *śāstra* literature about the legal-judicial bodies such as *sabhas* and *pariṣads*. Derrett, however, treats these bodies out of their evolutionary context, implying that they were as fully developed in the age of the *Dharmasutra* of Apastamba as in the *Smṛticandrikā* of Devannabhaṭṭa.

7. Bṛhaspati equates such a sabha with a sacrifice:
"Lokavedangadharmajnah
Sapta panca trayopi va I
Yatropavista viprah syuh
Sa Yajnasadrsi sabha II' Bṛhaspati quoted in *Smṛticandrikā* II p.15.See also Yājñavalkya II.2; *Vishṇudharmasūtra*, III.74; Kātyāyana.57; Nārada III.4-5 etc. quoted in P.V. Kane (1930-53 III:273). Derrett, too idealistically, believes that the policies of insisting that the members of the *sabha* should be brāhmans and their glorification "would tend to reinforce a sense of responsibility which the exacting traditional education already induced in this caste", pushing under the carpet the social base of such policies. (Derrett 1978:29).

8. *Contra*.Derrett (1978:52-54).

9. Kane (1930-53 II:966-72), U.N. Ghoshal (1959:46, 160). For an account of the *parishad* in the *Mahābhārata*, see Brajdeo Prasad Roy (1975:240-2). Roy rightly considers the *parisad* not as the "source of *Dharma* in the same sense in which we take the *sruti*, *smṛti* and *sadacara*. It is only a machinery to decide doubtful matters and to give verdict on new problems".

10. *Supra*, n.4.

11. This is expressed by the phrase "*Kuraivara tīrttu kūḍi*".

12. In most inscriptions, this is indicated by the phrase "avirotāttāl", "without opposition". The Manur inscription referred to above even imposes a punishment on those who obstruct the proceedings of the *sabha* by saying "no, no" and on those who stand by them. A detailed discussion of the significance of both full attendance and unanimous decisions is made in M.G.S.Narayanan (1972) Chapter on "Local Bodies".

13. For instance, fifty-five out of less than 150 Cēra temple inscriptions show this presence (Velutnat 1978:57 n.29).

14. Till recently, scholars had taken these imprecatory clauses as mere statements in a standardised form. A recent study shows that they were more than that, meeting the purpose of a veritable judicial decree. M.G.S.Narayanan (1976).

15. In fact, Derrett (1978:30) even takes the word *vyavastha* to mean a unanimous opinion although it is not clear how he arrives at this interpretation. *op.cit.* p.30. However, he cites formidable evidence to support the idea of unanimity from Gautama XXVIII, pp.48-51, Manu XII, 11-12. Nārada III.17; See also Kane 1930-53 III 274-5; IV:86. The *Vyavahāra prakāśa* of Mitramiśra even uses the expression *avirodha*, which is the word used in inscriptions for expressing unanimity.

16. Julius Jolly, trans., *The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, SBE VII, V.179-80. p.39. Compare this clause with the statement in an inscription at Talainayar: All the brāhmaṇs who were guilty of wicked deeds, had defaulted in the payment of land-revenue, oppressed docile brāhmaṇs and respectable tenants, accepted bribes, and done such other things were to be punished according to the gravity of their offence (*ARE* 1927: No.148). Such instances of the members of the *sabha* and *pariṭai* being forbidden to take bribes are seen in Kerala inscriptions also.

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COMPUTER ANALYSIS OF BRONZE IMAGES OF SOUTH INDIA: AN ICONOMETRIC STUDY

M.Bagavandas, S.Govindaraju and Gift Siromoney.

1. Introduction

Indian bronze images are known for their artistic excellence. In Tamil Nadu there are hundreds of such beautiful icons from different regions belonging to different periods. These metal art pieces which exhibit the creative skill of the sculptors of the past are found in temples and in museums. The vigour and freshness of these art pieces have been noted down by many scholars. Even though a large number of studies have been made on stone sculptures, only a few studies have been reported on bronze images (Barrett 1965). Many of these studies are mainly based on iconography which deals with the identification of images, hand-poses, stances and weapons associated with images. Also, in the recent past, sculptures of the Pallava period have been studied in detail using the costumes and jewellery depicted on them (Lockwood *et.al.* 1974; Siromoney 1970). Here we approach the problem from the point of view of iconometric measurements or proportions of various parts of the carvings using computer methods of analysing data. This kind of analysis of sculptures through the study of sculptural proportions was pioneered by Guralnick (1976) at Chicago University, who applied computer techniques to Greek sculptures. Such an application to Indian sculpture has been carried out by us for the first time in India (Siromoney *et.al.* 1980).

An iconometric study based on measurements of the parts of every sculpture begins with the collection of new and valuable data on Indian sculptures. This kind of study will reveal unexpected details overlooked by earlier scholars. Many scholars believe that all Indian sculptures are strictly based on Indian canons of iconometry and such a theory can be tested by comparing the canonical proportions with the actual proportions. On the other hand, if the sculptors followed some written or unwritten laws of proportion, they can be recovered from the sculptural measurements. Also, dating of unidentified sculptures and restoring of any broken parts of sculptures based on average values can be made.

Our recent study of iconometry of stone sculptures of different monuments from the Pallava, the Cōḷa, the Pāṇḍya and the Vijayanagar regions showed considerable difference in facial proportions and many of these proportions differ widely from the existing canonical proportions.

Thus, the difference in facial proportions indicate that the concept of *beauty changes from region to* region and from period to period (Bagavandas 1982). In another computer study, it was found that the Pallava king Rājasiṁha was not *the sole author of all monuments* of Mahābalipuram (Govindaraju 1982).

For the present study, about one hundred and thirty bronze images *were taken up. These priceless* pieces belong to periods ranging from the 9th century to the 16th century A.D. These bronzes that we measured were from the collection *of the Government Museum, Madras* and the Tanjore Art Gallery.

The great temples of South India teem with fine bronzes. These *were produced by skilled craftsmen* who used *cire perdue* or the lost wax process. In South India, the modern Tiruchirappalli and Thanjavur districts--the ancient centres of Cōḷa dynasty--are the main centres noted for excellent craftsmanship. Also, it is generally held that the peak of artistic excellence was reached during the reign of the Imperial Cōḷas around A.D.1000.

The bronze images exhibit certain distinguishing characteristics over the centuries. If these characteristics are carefully studied and tabulated, one gets a clear indication of time sequence. Occasionally, the paleographic and the epigraphical evidences also come to our assistance in fixing the dates of the bronzes. Facial features and the contours of the figures are another source of information regarding the period (Sivaramamurthi 1963). Using iconographic details, the bronze images are classified into three groups, namely:

(i)the Early Cōḷa bronzes (A.D. 850-1100)
(ii)the Late Cōḷa bronzes (A.D.1100-1350)
(iii)the Vijayanagar bronzes (A.D.1350-1600)

With this background we hope to answer some of the questions that have arisen during the course of this study. Did the sculptors of the past follow closely the proportions prescribed in ancient Indian canonical texts that are available now? If not, what are the proportions that they followed in the different centres of art? Do the bronze images of different periods differ in iconometric proportions? Are there any differences in the facial proportions of male and of female bronze images of the same period? Is there any similarity between the stone and the bronze sculptures of the same period?

Unlike human subjects, only certain measurements are possible for a given sculpture. In Indian art, sculptures are depicted in different standard postures and gestures. It is, therefore, impossible to take iconometric measurements of different parts of the sculptures for comparison, whereas facial measurements are common to all figures. So, in order to compare a large number of sculptures, we have confined ourselves to ten facial measurements which are common to all of them. They are face-length, morphological face-length, nose-length, nose-to-chin distance, nose-breadth, eye-length, eye-breadth, lip-length, lip-breadth and face-breadth. In order to compare these measurements with the measurements prescribed in Indian canons of iconometry, the ten facial measurements are standardized by dividing each measurement using face-length

and multiplied by 12 and given in *angula* unit where the *angula* (or finger width) is a proportional unit. The reason for multiplying by 12 is that in the Indian canons of iconometry the face-length is prescribed as twelve *angulas*. All the ten measurements were made by the authors using anthropometric instruments. The anthropometric terminology of these measurements are give in Table 1 (Singh & Bhasin 1968).

2. Iconometric Analysis:

The Indian system of iconometry (Gopinatha Rao 1920) prescribes different sets of proportions for the whole body from crown to foot, but for all the sets the facial proportions are practically the same. For any set of proportions obtained from a given type of figure, all the facial measurements are given in *angulas*. According to the surviving canons of iconometry (Devanathachari 1961; Subrahmanya Sastry 1960a, 1960b), the typical prescribed proportions for nose-length, nose-to-chin distance, nose-breadth, eye-length, eye-breadth, lip-length and lip-breadth are respectively four, four, two, two, one, two and one and half *angulas*. It was a canon familiar to South Indian sculptors. From Table 2 we find that these values are quite different from the average values of the proportions of the bronze images of three different periods. In particular, the length of the nose and the nose-to-chin distance are prescribed to be four *angulas* in the canons of iconometry. Even in some texts there are occasional variations but none allow such long noses with average values 4.8, 5.1, 5.1 *angulas* against the nose-to-chin values of 4.2, 4.0, 3.9 *angulas* such as shown in Table 2. Therefore there is hardly any evidence to say that the craftsmen of bronze images of the Early Cōḻa, the Late Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar periods followed closely any of the existing canons. Generally the bronze images of the three periods do have long noses, short nose-to-chin distances, broader faces, broader noses, long and narrow eyes and thinner lips than prescribed in the canons.

Thus we have recovered the special proportions of the *staptis* of bronze images of three different periods and they have not come down to us in any text. These mean values for different categories of sculptures would prove useful in dating them.

After having seen that the bronze images of the three periods, namely, the Early Cōḻa, the Late Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar were not carved according to the rules laid down by the existing Indian canons of iconometry, let us, now compare the average facial proportions of the images of these three periods. From Table 2 it can be observed that nose-length, nose-breadth, eye-length and eye-breadth keep on increasing over the centuries, while there is a decreasing trend in nose-to-chin distance and lip-breadth. Such a consistent pattern is not discernible in the other variables.

The indices, however, make a different reading. Although the variables have their differences, the indices remain more or less constant over the years. The nose index (nose-breadth/nose-length x 100) is around 60, the eye index (eye-breadth/eye-length x 100) is around 29 and the lip index (lip-breadth/lip-length x 100) is around 39.

Simple calculations bring out other similarities as well. The lip-length is two and a half times its breadth. As for the differences, the Early Cōḻa bronzes present a round face, while the faces are broader in the other two periods. A second difference is observed in the chin-index (nose-length/nose-to-chin x 100). The Late Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar bronzes have a longer nose compared to the nose-to-chin distance of the Early Cōḻa bronzes. Thus we can say that the Late Cōḻa bronzes are closer to the Vijayanagar bronzes than to the Early Cōḻa bronzes in facial proportions.

2.1 A Comparative Study of the Male and Female Bronze Figures:

It will be interesting to see how the male figures differ from their female counterparts. The chin index values of male and female figures of the Early Cōḻa bronzes are 110.5 and 121.1 respectively (Table 3). The higher index value of female figures indicate that the female figures of the Early Cōḻa period have smaller nose-to-chin distance compared to their male counterparts. We indicate the values of the different indices in parentheses in the following discussion. The eyes of the female figures (26.0) are also longer than the male figures (31.6). From Table 4 we observe that the Late Cōḻa male figures (105.6) have broader faces than their female counterparts (101.5). For the female figures of the Late Cōḻa period (125.7), the distance from nose-to-chin is greater than the corresponding value for the male figures (134.8). No significant difference is observed between the male and female figures of the Vijayanagar bronzes (Table 5).

2.2 A Comparative Study of Stone and Bronze Sculptures of the Same Period:

A comparative study of stone and bronze sculptures of the same period is found worthwhile. Since there are large number of male sculptures available in the Early Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar periods, only such pieces of those two periods are considered for this study. The average values of the Early Cōḻa stone sculptures are the pooled average values of the sculptures of the Kīḻaiyur and the Koḍumbāḷūr temples. Table 6 and Table 7 present the details of this. In one of our earlier studies we found that the sculptures of these two temples have the same type of facial proportions (Gift Siromoney *et.al.* 1981).

The bronze images (100 and 101.5) of these two periods have broader faces than the stone sculptures (93.7 and 97.6). The stone sculptures (72.4 and 72.2) have a relatively broader nose compared to the bronze images (60.1 and 62.1) in terms of the nose shape. The stone sculptures also have wider eyes. The difference in the eye index of the stone and bronze images of the Early Cōḻa period (34.7 and 31.6) is negligible, whereas this difference is very high in the Vijayanagar period (48 and 29.4). Stone sculptures of the Vijayanagar period (51.6) are very different from the bronzes (38.1) in terms of their lip index, whereas it is the same for both the Early Cōḻa bronzes and stone sculptures.

3. Cluster Analysis:

Till now, we have been analysing bronze sculptures belonging to three

different periods on the basis of a set of variables. However, a basic problem that remains to be solved is that of grouping the sculptures. Once the groups are formed, an objective study of groups can be made on the basis of different variables. When the computer facilities were not available, it was the practice to rely entirely on visual comparison of figures for grouping them. But with the advent of modern computers, many new classification techniques have been devised by different scholars (Everitt 1977).

The most commonly used term for classification techniques which separates the given data into groups is cluster analysis. The main aim of this analysis is to group the objects into clusters such that the objects within a cluster have a high degree of natural association while the cluster are relatively distinct from one another. In this analysis our concern is with the similarity of objects. By similarity we mean the resemblance of their profiles over the whole set of variables. This type of analysis has been used in different fields. Let us briefly review a few applications in archaeology. Hodson (1966, 1971) has adopted these techniques to classify the artefacts of ancient people. Guralnick (1978) has used this technique to group the Greek sculptures on the basis of iconometric measurements. In one of our earlier studies we have used this technique to verify whether the Pallava sculptors had used the canonical proportions to carve Śiva figures of the Somāskanda panels (Siromoney *et.al.* 1982) and also to identify the number of sculptors who had worked in the Dharmarāja *Ratha* of Mahābalipuram (Siromoney *et.al.* 1983). In this paper we have made an attempt to group the bronze images of the Early Cōḷa, the Late Cōḷa and the Vijayanagar periods.

The main problem of cluster analysis is to find natural clusters in a given data. By 'natural clusters' we mean those clusters which remain the same, regardless of the clustering technique applied to the given data. From one of our earlier studies we found that the k-means method due to MacQueen (1967) is suitable for grouping the sculptures based on the iconometric measurements (Bagavandas 1982; Govindaraju 1982). Greater success was achieved by this clustering technique. Hartigan (1975) provided an algorithm for this technique. Since it is not possible to get a tree-like structure using k-means method to find the way in which different sets of bronzes group together, we have made use of two other clustering techniques, namely, *single linkage* method and *complete linkage* method.

3.1 Cluster Analysis of Bronze Images Using Single Linkage and Complete Linkage Methods:

The single linkage and the complete linkage methods are used to compare the average facial proportions of bronze images of different periods with the canonical proportions. The similarity measure used in this analysis is the Mahalanobis distance function. We have also taken for this analysis fifteen different sets of canonical proportions from the three Southern texts mentioned earlier, whose translations are availble in Tamil. The distances between different groups are given in Table 8. The relation between different groups are represented in the form of dendrograms

(Figures 1 and 2). The two dendrograms are similar in shape. Hence, we can say that these two methods provide the same type of clusters for our data. The fusion levels of the trees of the two dendrograms obtained by the single linkage and the complete linkage methods are given in percentages inside the brackets. At first the Late Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar bronzes form a cluster (1.8, 1.1) and in the next stage the Early Cōḻa bronzes join the cluster formed by the bronzes of the other two periods (6.8, 6.4). Finally the canons join with the bronzes (100, 100).

A close examination of the dendrograms shows that the canonical proportions are quite different from the sculptural proportions. This indicates clearly that the sculptors of the past did not follow closely any of the existing canoncial proportions. Also we find that the Late Cōḻa bronzes are closer to the Vijayanagar bronzes than to the Early Cōḻa bronzes in facial proportions.

3.2 Cluster Analysis of Bronze Sculptures using K-Means Method:

In the preceding section the clustering was done for groups of sculptures on the basis of average values. It is also a worthwhile attempt to cluster the individual sculptures. For this analysis, the Euclidean distance function is considered as similarity measure and we have got four meaningful clusters. The formation of clusters of bronze sculptures is given in Table 9. We shall describe these four clusters whose average values are given in Table 10.

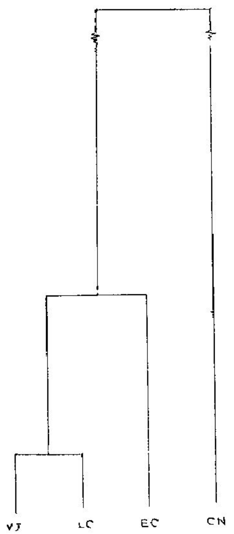

Fig.1. Single Linkage Dendrogram

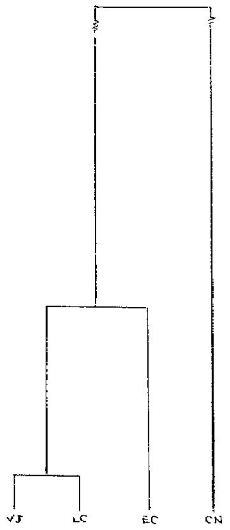

Fig.2. Complete Linkage Dendrogram

The first cluster which is the largest group clearly consists of most of the Early Cōḻa bronzes. Out of the total of thirty-eight Early Cōḻa bronzes, twenty-nine are accommodated in this cluster. The other members of this clusters are nine Late Cōḻa and eight Vijayanagar bronzes. Also, the average proportions of the sculptures of this cluster are similar to the average proportions of the Early Cōḻa bronzes. Hence, we call this as Early Cōḻa cluster. The members of this cluster have smaller noses and narrower faces compared to other clusters.

In the second cluster, there are thirty-three pieces, of which twenty-two are Vijayanagar bronzes, eight Late Cōḻa bronzes and three Early Cōḻa bronzes. This cluster has predominantly the features of Vijayanagar bronzes. On this account this can be called Vijayanagar cluster. The average values of all the variables except morphological face-length, lip-breadth and face-breadth are greater than those of other clusters.

The third cluster consists of twenty-three Vijayanagar bronzes, seventeen Late Cōḻa bronzes and four Early Cōḻa bronzes. The members of this cluster have broad faces and thin lips. In other respects also, they resemble Late Cōḻa bronzes. But still, Vijayanagar bronzes account for the largest number of members in this group. Hence we call this cluster as Vijayanagar-Late Cōḻa cluster.

The fourth cluster which is the smallest group consists of two Early Cōḻa bronzes, three Late Cōḻa bronzes and one Vijayanagar bronze. The bronze images of this cluster have very thick lips compared to the other clusters. The centroid values are also not close to the mean values of those three periods of bronze images.

4. Conclusion:

We have made use of computer and statistical methods for the analysis of bronze sculptures of the Early Cōḻa, the Late Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar bronzes. The main contribution of this study is pioneering the use of modern computers to an additional field of South Indian art historical research. This computer analysis of the bronze sculptures of the three different periods shows that the facial proportions of these images are quite different from the existing canonical proportions. It shows the sculptors of the past do not seem to have followed very closely any of the canons that we have discussed in our study. Also on the average the Late Cōḻa bronzes are closer to the Vijayanagar bronzes than to the Early Cōḻa bronzes in terms of facial proportions. The male bronze figures differ from their female counterparts in some characteristics in the two Cōḻa periods. Even though the bronze images are coeval with the stone sculptures of many temples, they differ from one another in almost all iconometric characteristics.

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Table 1

Anthropometric Description of Ten Variables

1. FALN: the face-length -- the straight distance between hair line or crown base and gnathion.

2. MFLN: the morphological face-length -- the straight distance between the root of the nose and gnathion.

3. NSLN: the nose-length -- the straight distance between the root of the nose and subnasale.

4. NCHN: the nose-to-chin distance -- the straight distance between subnasale and gnathion.

5. NSBR: the nose-breadth -- the straight distance between most laterally placed points on the nasal wings.

6. EYLN: the eye-length -- the straight distance between the internal and the external corners of the eye.

7. EYBR: the eye-breadth -- the maximum distance between the eye lids.

8. LPLN: the lip-length -- the straight distance between the two corners of the mouth.

9. LPBR: the lip-breadth -- the straight distance between labrale superior and labrale inferior.

10. FBNE: the face-breadth -- the straight distance between the two tragia.

Table 2.

Average proportions of bronze images of different periods with their corresponding standard errors

VARIABLES	EC-B	LC-B
MFLN	8.859±0.052	9.028±0.053
NSLN	4.777±0.048	5.108±0.062
NSCN	4.192±0.068	3.951±0.055
NSBR	2.869±0.056	3.090±0.043
EYLN	3.783±0.113	4.388±0.111
EYBR	1.089±0.054	1.191±0.032
LPLN	4.243±0.080	4.070±0.080
LPBR	1.682±0.049	1.645±0.062
FBNE	11.948±0.127	12.445±0.112
FACE INDEX	99.565±0.861	103.708±0.905
NOSE INDEX	60.223±1.113	60.729±0.958
EYE INDEX	29.390±1.467	27.478±0.726
LIP INDEX	39.970±1.151	37.829±1.337
CHIN INDEX	114.970±2.146	130.604±2.991
SAMPLE SIZE	38	37

The face length is taken to be 12 *aṅgulas*.

Note: EC-B: Early Cola Bronzes
LC-B: Late Cola Bronzes

Table 2.(Contd.)

VARIABLES	VJ-B	CANN
MFLN	8.979±0.057	8.000
NSLN	5.139±0.058	4.000
NSCN	3.878±0.043	4.000
NSBR	3.123±0.044	2.000
EYLN	4.502±0.092	2.000
EYBR	1.299±0.039	1.000
LPLN	4.166±0.061	3.000
LPBR	1.602±0.033	1.500
FBNE	12.144±0.103	11.430
FACE INDEX	101.201±0.842	95.250
NOSE INDEX	61.186±1.144	50.000
EYE INDEX	29.109±0.823	50.000
LIP INDEX	38.722±1.003	50.000
CHIN INDEX	133.550±2.263	100.000
SAMPLE SIZE	54	

The face length is taken to be 12 *aṅgulas*.

Note: VJ-B : Vijayanagar Bronzes
CANN : *Madhayma Nava Tāla* prescriptions

Table 3

Average facial proportions of male and female sculptures of the Early Cōḻa bronzes with their corresponding standard errors

VARIABLES	EARLY COLA BRONZES	
	MALE	FEMALE
MFLN	8.906±0.056	8.786±0.060
NSLN	4.737±0.051	4.840±0.058
NSCN	4.320±0.068	3.995±0.070
NSBR	2.834±0.063	2.923±0.061
EYLN	3.566±0.117	4.115±0.100
EYBR	1.105±0.067	1.065±0.039
LPLN	4.234±0.087	4.255±0.098
LPBR	1.740±0.053	1.595±0.055
FBNE	11.996±0.138	11.875±0.151
FACE INDEX	99.963±1.152	98.890±1.571
NOSE INDEX	60.055±1.619	60.483±1.330
EYE INDEX	31.596±2.246	25.975±0.899
LIP INDEX	41.535±1.656	37.570±1.193
CHIN INDEX	110.476±2.510	121.861±3.086
SAMPLE SIZE	23	15

The face length is taken to be 12 *aṅgulas.*

Table 4·

Average facial proportions of male and female sculptures of the Late Cōḷa bronzes with their corresponding standard errors

VARIABLES	LATE COLA BRONZES	
	MALE	FEMALE
MFLN	9.011±0.051	9.048±0.095
NSLN	5.170±0.082	5.035±0.085
NSCN	3.885±0.078	4.029±0.068
NSBR	3.097±0.058	3.083±0.061
EYLN	4.453±0.166	4.311±0.128
EYBR	1.218±0.044	1.159±0.041
LPLN	4.069±0.119	4.071±0.098
LPBR	1.681±0.094	1.601±0.068
FBNE	12.675±0.150	12.175±0.130
FACE INDEX	105.621±1.247	101.458±1.084
NOSE INDEX	60.131±1.342	61.432±1.343
EYE INDEX	27.824±1.068	27.066±0.957
LIP INDEX	38.588±1.951	36.936±1.764
CHIN INDEX	134.801±4.612	125.668±3.204
SAMPLE SIZE	20	17

The face length is taken to be 12 *aṅgulas*.

Table 5.

Average facial proportions of male and female sculptures of the Vijayanagar bronzes with their corresponding standard errors

VARIABLES	VIJAYANAGAR BRONZES	
	MALE	FEMALE
MFLN	8.979±0.078	8.980±0.078
NSLN	5.119±0.077	5.162±0.074
NSCN	3.937±0.042	3.810±0.074
NSBR	3.157±0.064	3.085±0.057
EYLN	4.390±0.119	4.632±0.127
EYBR	1.278±0.054	1.323±0.055
LPLN	4.156±0.079	4.178±0.091
LPBR	1.580±0.063	1.629±0.043
FBNE	12.181±0.133	12.102±0.153
FACE INDEX	101.505±1.110	100.850±1.279
NOSE INDEX	62.085±1.613	60.145±1.590
EYE INDEX	29.396±1.267	28.776±1.151
LIP INDEX	38.140±1.455	39.396±1.347
CHIN INDEX	130.334±2.154	132.281±4.074
SAMPLE SIZE	29	25

The face length is taken to be 12 *aṅgulas*.

Table 6.

Average facial proportions of stone and bronze sculptures of the Early Cōḻa period (Male figures only) with their corresponding standard errors

VARIABLES	EARLY COLA BRONZE	EARLY COLA STONE
MFLN	8.906±0.056	8.680±0.067
NSLN	4.737±0.051	4.398±0.018
NSCN	4.320±0.068	4.285±0.062
NSBR	2.834±0.063	3.158±0.055
EYLN	3.566±0.117	3.030±0.064
EYBR	1.105±0.067	1.047±0.035
LPLN	4.234±0.087	4.214±0.085
LPBR	1.740±0.053	1.755±0.037
FBNE	11.996±0.138	11.241±0.999
FACE INDEX	99.963±1.152	93.674±0.790
NOSE INDEX	60.055±1.619	72.390±1.552
EYE INDEX	31.596±2.246	34.689±1.052
LIP INDEX	41.535±1.656	41.932±0.842
CHIN INDEX	110.476±2.510	103.696±2.213
SAMPLE SIZE	23	41

The face length is taken to be in *aṅgulas*.

Table 7.

Average facial proportions of stone and bronze sculptures of Vijayanagar period (Male figures only) with their corresponding standard errors

VARIABLES	VIJAYANAGAR BRONZE	VIJAYANAGAR STONE
MFLN	8.979±0.078	8.762±0.116
NSLN	5.119±0.077	5.000±0.079
NSCN	3.937±0.042	4.061±0.112
NSBR	3.157±0.064	3.600±0.089
EYLN	4.390±0.119	4.127±0.096
EYBR	1.278±0.054	1.970±0.073
LPLN	4.156±0.079	3.769±0.089
LPBR	1.580±0.063	1.935±0.041
FBNE	12.181±0.133	11.709±0.177
FACE INDEX	101.505±1.110	97.577±1.384
NOSE INDEX	62.085±1.613	72.219±1.888
EYE INDEX	29.396±1.267	48.017±1.831
LIP INDEX	38.140±1.455	51.608±1.213
CHIN INDEX	130.334±1.154	124.551±3.950
SAMPLE SIZE	29	16

The face length is taken to be 12 *aṅgulas*.

Table 8.

Distance matrix based on Mahalanobis D^2

Groups	EC-B	LC-B	VJ-B	CANN
EC-B	——	3.4	5.4	50.0
LC-B	3.4	——	0.9	84.6
VJ-B	5.4	0.9	——	57.1
CANN	50.0	84.6	57.1	——

Table 9

Distribution of bronze images of various periods to different clusters

PERIODS	CLUSTER 1		CLUSTER 2		CLUSTER 3		CLUSTER 4	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
EC-B	29	63.0	3	9.1	4	9.1	2	33.3
LC-B	9	19.6	8	24.2	17	38.6	3	50.0
VJ-B	8	17.4	22	66.7	23	52.3	1	16.7
TOTAL	46	100	33	100	44	100	6	100

Table 10

Average values of the variables for different clusters

VARIABLES	CLUSTER 1	CLUSTER 2	CLUSTER 3	CLUSTER 4
MFLN	9.190	8.789	8.991	9.088
NSLN	4.940	4.751	5.224	5.176
NSCN	4.341	4.108	3.830	3.948
NSBR	2.936	2.833	3.242	3.116
EYLN	3.528	3.874	4.836	4.276
EYBR	1.099	1.049	1.485	1.169
LPLN	4.366	4.170	4.397	4.185
LPBR	2.306	1.636	1.777	1.460
FBNE	12.265	11.972	12.071	12.430

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THE KOLĀRAMMĀ TEMPLE AND THE CŌḺAS.

B.K.Gururaja Rao.

The town of Kolar is situated in the south-eastern part of Karnataka, being the headquarters of the district of the same name. It is on the Bangalore-Chittoor-Madras road, being about 60 kms east-north-east of Bangalore. It lies on the borders of Karnataka with Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh to the east and south.

It is a place of great antiquity of considerable historical importance and consequently has passed through many vicissitudes. We first hear of it in the early centuries of the Christian era, of course leaving aside the legendary and puranic accounts. Mahāvalis or Bānas ruled over this area in that early period but it is closely associated with the Gaṅgas from 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. They founded the city of Kuvaḷāla, if it had not existed earlier, and made it their capital. Though in later centuries they shifted their centre of administration to other places like Manne in Nelamangala taluk of Bangalore district or Talkad in Mysore district, they continued to call themselves Kuvaḷāla-Puravareśvaras. It was about A.D.1004 during the reign of Rājarāja the Great, that the Gaṅgas were conquered and made vassals by the Cōḷas who ruled over the southern Karnataka for more than a century, until Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana captured Talkad and drove out the Cōḷas from Mysore country. Koḷāla down to the lower Nangili ghat formed part of the Hoysala territory. Later on, it kept changing hands among different conquering forces till it was incorporated into the Vijayanagará empire.

But it is significant that this region had a special attraction for the Cōḷas with whom it was associated in some way or the other. The Nidugal and Hemāvati feudatory chiefs of the Cōḷas -- who called themselves Cōḷa *mahārājas* -- controlled this region and have left behind some of their inscriptions (*EC* X, p.xxiv). The names of some of these rulers are Cōḷiga Muttarāsa and Mayindama Cōḷa-mahārāja (*EC* X, Gd.69, 73, 75, 76). This only shows that though the Cōḷas had extended their influence towards this area, it did not belong to their direct rule. This fact is indirectly corroborated by the fact that these records are in Kannada, though the later Cōḷa inscriptions from this region are mostly in Tamil.

The next significant Cōḷa thrust into this region occurs in the time of Madiraigoṇḍa Kō Parakeśarivarma during his 28th regnal year. This king is identified with Parāntaka I and the date would be A.D.934 according to an inscription also in

Kannada from Bairakur near Nangili (*EC* X, Mb.203, 148). But from the time of Rājarāja the Great and especially during the reign of his son Rājēndra I, the Cōḷa activities in Kolar region become more significant and the region seems to have been integrated into their regular empire.

With the coming of the Cōḷa Rājarāja or the Imperial set up, the region of Kolar seems to have received greater recognition. Even an attempt was made to attribute the foundation of the town to the Cōḷas. One Kōla, a herdsman, discovered a treasure which came to the ken of Uttamacōḷa ruling from Kanchi. He sent for Kōla but in the meanwhile, he was warned in a dream by Goddess Reṇukā-Kōlāhalamma; hence he erected a temple for Her and founded the city of Kōlāhalapura and Kōla became its governor (MG v:262). But the Kalinga Ganga inscription dated A.D.1118 from Viṣākhapaṭam tells us that Gangeya the founder of the dynasty was followed by eighteen kings of whom the 17th was Kōlāhala and it is he who built the city of Kōlāhala in the Gangavāḍi-viṣaya and thus the citty is said to be far older than the Cōḷa incursions. Another derivation of the name of the town is that Kōlāhala is actually Kōla's *hala* or plough of Kōla, an implement which was found in the treasure. The association of Reṇuka, mother of Paraśurāma and the weapon *hala* is also significant in that the region is also associated in legends with Paraśurāma. Further, there is, even to-day, a Paraśurāma temple, hardly a furlong east of the temple across the big tank. A major chunk of the district is said to have been ruled by the Cōḷa rulers like Vīra Cōḷa, Vikrama Cōḷa and Rājanarendra Cōḷa. A good number of Cōḷa epigraphs are found in the vicinity. Though this account lacks authenticity, it only shows that the Cōḷas considered this region and particularly the city of Kōlāhalapura and its presiding Goddess as of special importance. This becomes more evident from the fact that the Cōḷas bestowed numerous grants to the Goddess Kolārammā whom they called in their records as Piḍārıyammā and also by additions to the existing temples, construction of new temples and making numerous grants to those temples as can be seen by the evidence detailed hereunder. But in the meanwhile it may be pointed out that the unquestioned sway over this region by the Cōḷas was terminated by the Hoysalas who captured Talkad, the Cōḷa provincial capital in A.D.1116, the present day eastern boundary of the district became the dividing line between the two powers. But the region seems to have been changing hands as is proved by an epigraph of the time of Rājarāja II at Kendatti, a village not far from Kolar, where his feudatory, Rājendracōḷa Pallavarādittaṉ alias Mukkarāsa Kāḍuveṭṭi ruling from Kanchipuram is said to have erected a temple for, Someśvaramuḍaiya, Mahādevar on a hill called Vīraśritirumalai at Sūrūr in Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu of Nikarilicōḷa-maṇḍalam and made grants to it.

At least six inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja the Great are found in Kolar district (*EC* X, Kl. 106 b, 106 c, Mb. 123, 208 and 209 and Ct. 118) which, beside being highly eulogistic of the monarch, mention some of his activities, call him Rājarājadēvva Kō-Rājakeśaripamma, the former of his 22nd (A.D.1006) and the latter of his 12th (A.D.996) regnal years and record grants of villages as *dēvadānas* to the temple of the Goddess Piḍāriyar at Kuvaḷālam. Mulbagal

records say the repairs of a tank at Perbbanṇa (modern Hebbani) while the Chintāmaṇi epigraph, which also gives a Śaka date 933 (corresponding A.D.1010) is a hero-stone.

But the inscriptions of the reign of Rājēndra I are many and important from our point of view, viz., their association with the temple of Piḍāriyar. No less than 18 epigraphs of the reign of this king have been so far found in this region. The first of them actually belongs to the reign of his father Rājarāja (A.D.1000). When Rājēndra was on an expedition to this region he granted some lands to a matha at Kayvāra (*EC* X, Ct.153). Two records from Nāmbihalli and Kiravāra from Śrīnivāsapūr taluk dated to 1015 state his activities as the sovereign in the region. They are a hero-stone and a land grant record to the temple of Gaṅgeśvara at the place (*EC* X Sp. 14, 17). He is already described as Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Rājēndra Cōḻadēvar in these records (which by implication suggests that this title commemorates his victories over the Gaṅga power as a viceroy during the reign of his father and not the conqueror of the region around the Ganges as sometimes made out by some historians). The record of his 8th year (1019 A.D.)(*EC* X Kl. 106a) found on the walls of the Kolārammā temple at Kolar, wherein his achievements are narrated at length, records that his vassal Aṟaiyyaṉ Rājarājan alias Vikkirama-Cōḻa-Chchōḻivaraiyaṉ of Sāttamaṅgalam in Tiraimūrnāḍu made a grant of one perpetual lamp for the Piḍāriyār of Kuvaḷālam. Here Nigarilināḍu, in which Kuvaḷālam was situated, is alternately described as Nulambapāḍi indicating the expansion of the territory. The record further says that five good she-buffaloes which must neither grow old nor die were made over to the worshippers of the Goddess, two **brāhmaṇas** of *Kausika-gotra* for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple. All the Maheśvaras of the place were to protect the grant.

Another epigraph of the 11th year of this king (*EC* X. Kl. 112a) states that the king, camping in a temple at Kanchipuram, granted the village of Pāsai in Kuvaḷālanāḍu -- excluding the portion of the ryots, including Kārāṇmai, miyatchi, excess and deficiency -- as a *dēvadāna* from the 7th year of his reign to the Piḍāri temple at Kolar. Necessary entries had to be back dated in the revenue registers for which instructions were given to the Chief Secretary and other officers. Consequently, the revenue for the four years were to be made over to the temple. The entries in the revenue registers were effected in the 13th year.

Yet another record of his 16th year, also calling him with similar titles, tells that he was seated in the palace at Vikkiramacōḻapuram in Kaivaranāḍu of Nigarili Colamanḍalam and that he granted the village of Piragampaḷḷi in Kuvaḷālanāḍu excluding the portion of the ryots as a *dēvadāna* and the revenue in paddy and gold be paid for the requirements of the Goddess Piḍāriyar of Kuvaḷālam. This was entered in the revenue records by Rājēndra Cōḻa Brahmādirāyar alias Nārkkaṇa-mārāyaṉ Jananādanar of Kēraḷāntaka-Chcharuppēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu of Uyyakoṇḍār-Vaḷanāḍu. The entries were carried out in the revenue registers within a short period of 41 days.

Another inscription from the same place (*EC* X Kl.109a) dated in A.D. 1033 elaborates his conquests

in the Deccan, Central and Western India and beyond the seas in South-east Asia and the islands in the Bay of Bengal. It further states that by the orders of the king, his general, Uttama-cōḷa-Brahma-marāyaṉ *alias* Mārāyaṉ Arumoḷi, son of Rājēndra-cōḷa-Brahma-mārāyaṉ, *alias* Narakkaṉ Śrī Krishṇan-Rāmaṉ, of Kēraḷāntaka-Chaturvēdi-maṅgalam, *alias* Amaṇakuḍi in Veṇṇādu belonging to Uyyakoṇḍār-Vaḷanāḍu of Cōḷa-maṇḍalam caused to be built of stone what had formerly been built of brick in the temple of Piḍāriyar at Kuvaḷālam in Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu of Gaṅgarasāyaram in Nigarili Cōḷa maṇḍalam. He also granted a perpetual lamp known by the name of Janavār Kalpagam to be maintained in the presence of the Goddess as long as the Moon and the Sun would last. For this purpose, he gave seven good she-buffaloes which were to neither die nor grow old and made them over to the Śaiva brāhmaṇas of the temple. For this light to burn steadily, a lamp weighing one hundred *palam* by the scale of Āyiravaṉ was also given.

On his behalf the construction work of the temple was entrusted to a *brāhmaṇa* Mūttavagaitūdan Tirup-pori Ambalattāḍi of Kāṭṭumānapākkam in the Māgaṉūr-nāḍu of Seṅgāṭṭu-kkōṭ-ṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Cōḷa-maṇḍalam. One Cintāmaṇi Śaṅkaran who was the *Muttavagai* parasol bearer of Eyirāngu in Vēḷanāḍu which belonged to Kṣatri-śikhāmaṇi-Vaḷanāḍu gave to the charge of the Śiva *brāhmanas* of the temple a twilight lamp to be burnt at one of the three *sandhi* of the day, before the Piḍāriyar of Kuvaḷālam. With this we come to the end of Rājēndra's activities with regard to the Kolārammā temple. Next reference to the Kolārammā temple under the Cōḷas occurs in an inscription (*EC* X Kl. 107) of the time of Vijayarājēndra dēva Para-kēśarivarma, brother of Rājādhirāja (A.D.1018-54) and son of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1012-1044) i.e. Rājēndra II (A.D. 1052-63). The inscription of his third regnal year (A.D.1054) mentions that an overseer of his *daṇḍanāyaka* Vēṭṭaṉ Panchanedi-Vāṇam *alias* Madurāntaka-Tamil-pperaiyaṉ of Taṇḍāṅgurai in Viḷānāḍu of Paṇḍiku-lasānı-vaḷanādu of Cōḷamaṇḍalam granted two perpetual lamps for the Goddess Piḍāriyār of Kuvaḷālam in the Kuvaḷālanāḍu of Vijayarājēndra-maṇḍalam and having purchased 63 cows, made them over to the two worshippers of the Goddess, the Śiva *brāhmanas* Śaṅkaraṉ Tiyambakaṉ *alias* Madurāntaka-Tamilp-pēraiyaṉ of Taṇḍaṅguṟai in Viḷānāḍu of Paṇḍiku-lasāni-vaḷanāḍu of Cōḷamaṇḍalam granted two perpetual lamps for the Goddess Piḍāriyār of Kuvaḷālam in the Kuvaḷālanāḍu of Vijayarājēndra-maṇḍalam and having purchased 63 cows, made them over to the two worshippers of the Goddess, the Śiva *brāhmanas* Śankaraṉ Tıyambakaṉ *alias* Bhūpālarāja-Brahmamārāyaṉ and Ālan Mārasiṅgaṉ *alias* Rājaparākki-rama-Brahma-mārayaṉ of the *Kausika-gotra*. Any profit accruing from these cows after providing for the lamps, was to be theirs. These lamps were under the protection of all Maheśvaras.

The next reference to this temple in the Cōḷa records occurs in an inscription of A.D.1071 i.e., in the second regnal year of Kulōttuṅgadēva I (*EC* X Kl.108). This gives an elabora-te description of his numerous military exploits. But it is interesting to note that this record describes in detail an enquiry conducted into the adminis-tration of the temple of Piḍāriyār at Kuvaḷālam. It appears from a review of the contents of this and

another epigraph, which though listed as a separate one by the editor of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, appears to be a continuation of the above record, i.e. Kl 108, that the temple had fallen on bad days after the death of Rājēndra II (whose last inscription in the temple is dated A.D.1054). It received the attention of the new ruler and probably under his instructions to restore the income of the temple being the proceeds from the land grants from various *dēvadāna* villages granted in the earlier years. The details of the various goods and services to be rendered to them are enumerated along with the rates of the grants for each service, the remunerations for each of the temple priests, servants, those who sung prayers, hymns etc., those who supplied flowers, pots and other equipment for the use of temple and so on.

But some facts emerge from a study of such details regarding the mode of worship, the nature of the worhsip, various deities worshipped in the temple and so forth. The officer, Ambalavaṉ Tiruppondaiyār *alias* Vīraśikāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēḷār, of Pāṇḍiyambakkam in the Pembuliyūr-nāḍu of Kāḷiyūr-kōṭṭam in Cōḷamaṇḍalam came to the temple, sat in the *maṇḍapam* in the temple enclosure and found out from Kannataka *paṇḍita* who was in charge of *maḍapattiyam* and the *pañchachariya pūjāris* that the revenues assigned to the temple were not being recieved regularly. Then he ordered the various allotments in the presence of the temple staff and Nirupasikāmaṇi Viḻupparaiyaṉ, of Araṉinilai-Mummuḍi-Cōḷa-Nallūr. The fourteen deities receiving worship at the temple are named: Vīrabhadra, Brāhmaṇī, Īśvari, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Śrī-Chāmuṇḍeśvarī, Gaṇapati, Chāmuṇḍeśvarī of Mūlasthāna, Yogeśvari, Kṣetrapāladeva, Mahāsāsta and Sūryadeva. The nine deities *(Nava-dēvataigaḷ)*, probably the *navagrahas*, are separately mentioned. Further, a number of minor deities like Kuṁbhadevadas are also listed. The various festivals, sacred days on which special worship is to be offered are listed. It is further stated that though the *Vedas* were recited and Vedic pandits were in service of the temple, animal-sacrifice was in vogue--one sheep a day, and more on certain special occasions. Even the sacrifice of she-baffaloes, seven in number, on a particular occasion is mentioned. That the animals were *killed* and *not merely offered* to the temple is indicated by the occurrence of the word "bloody-oblation", which is sometimes described as *puṇya vadai*.

The foregoing account emphasises that the Cōḷa rulers hailing from the heart of the Tamil country took a keen interest in a local deity Kolārammā, called Piḍāriyar by them, in an outlying region of the empire, which remained with them for a short time and bestowed numerous grants and unique attention on her. It is *particularly* Rājēndra I who showered gifts on the temple, though a couple of his succesors continued the tradition. Of course Kulōttuṅga's officer restored the worship at the temple on a grand scale which only indicates that the region had again fallen under their control and the presiding deity of the region still continued to wield special attention of these rulers.

Another noteworthy point that emerges from the study of the inscriptions at the temple is the gift of she-buffaloes to the temple. This

kind of gift is rare in Indian practice but is not unique. Such gifts are recorded in Telugu inscriptions. For instance, one epigraph from Bhimavaram of A.D.1115 (*EI* VI. 20) records that two people Pāpanabōyi and Guṇḍiyabōyi donated twenty she-buffaloes for the local temple for maintaining perpetual lamp therein.

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Publication No:38

COMPUTER ANALYSIS OF **tirukkuRaL**

K.C.Chellamuthu and S.Baskaran

* Metre Analysis involving the study of ciirs and the various metrical problems.

* Concordance generation, word and character frequency analysis.

* Question-Answering system for the study of word usage.

* Grammar in Tirukkural - such as alapetai, consonant, vowel, consonant-vowel etc.

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ROYAL ENDOWMENTS TO TIRUVAKKARAI TEMPLE

S.Swaminathan.

Of all the institutions of human society the temple is surely amazing. Standing firmly like a rock amid the shifting currents and cultures of the ages, it has occupied a pivotal position in man's life for many centuries. While other institutions have come and gone, political and economic systems waxed and waned, the temple alone among them all has endured. A Hindu temple, especially in the South, is a citadel which sustains the culture, tradition and heritage over many centuries.

One such temple is the Chandramaulisvara temple at Tiruvakkarai in Villuppuram taluk, South Arcot district. It is an ancient temple dating back to the time of Āditya I (A.D. 871-907) or even prior to that. The temple was built into stone even in that remote period, as an epigraph of Āditya I refers to the deity as Tiruvakkarai Karrali - Perumāṉaḍigaḷ (*SII* XIII: 285, 317). From the numerous epigraphs of the temple, we can make out that the temple consists of a central shrine, dedicated to Chandramauliśvarar; a *maṇḍapa* in front of it, an inner *prākara*, a second *prākara* containing a 100 pillared *maṇḍapa* and a *gopuram*; a Śiva shrine within the main temple campus and a shrine dedicated to Varadarāja Perumāḷ with a *maṇḍapa* in front of it. Some of these structures were constructed in different periods as evidenced by the epigraphs.

The village Tiruvakkarai, in the medieval period, formed a part of Tribuvaṉamādēvichaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *Brahmadēya* in Mattūrnāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḻamaṇḍalam (*SII* XIX: 240).

But the same territorial division did not continue in the later period. A record of Kulōttuṅga I dated in his 44th year, located Tribhuvaṉamādēvi - Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Vīravadara-vaḷanāḍu in Gaṅgaikoṇḍa - cōḻa-vaḷanāḍu (*SII* XVII; 203), while a 6th year epigraph of Māravarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya [III] accorded *taṉiyūr* status to Tiruvakkarai (*SII* XVII: 202).

As already stated, the Tiruvakkarai temple was an ancient one. The temple has 45 lithic records, the earliest record belongs to the reign of Āditya I, while the last one belongs to that of the Vijayanagara ruler, Sāḷuva Narasanāyaka. The temple enjoyed the patronage of the Cōḻa, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, (Kopperuñjiṅga) and Vijayanagara rulers. The donors include, kings, *Perumguri Perummakkaḷ*, queens, chieftains, headmen, shepherds and other people. The donors include not only the

local citizens of Tiruvakkarai, but also its immediate neighbourhood and remote areas. The gifts include cattle, money metal lamps, bells, vessels, and also lands, the yields of which were to be utilised for offerings and services to be conducted in the temple. The temple has been endowed since the time of Āditya I

During the second year of Adirājēndra, the *Kōṭakacōḷa vimāna* originally built of brick by one Kōṭa-cōḷa was converted into stone. Though the identity of Kōṭa-cōḷa is veiled in obscurity, we may not be far wrong if we may say that he might have been the same as Kochcheṅgaṉṉāṉ, who was eulogised by the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār, as the founder of nearly seventy temples (Sastri 1935: p 67).

Though the temple was a Śaivite one, it houses a Vaiṣṇavite shrine too in its complex, now called Varadarāja Perumāḷ temple and several gifts were made to this shrine also which speaks of the religious tolerance and catholicity practised by the rulers and the ruled in the Medieval Tamil country.

Gift pattern to the Temple:

The temple located in the rural surroundings was the centre and focus of the life and activity of the medieval society. In the 19th year of Āditya I, a lady Pugaḻtuṉai Aḍiyār made a gift of gold in order to burn a perpetual lamp to Kaṟṟaḷi Perumāṉaḍigaḷ at Tiruvakkarai (*SII* XIII: 285). Seven years later she again donated 100 *kāḍi* of paddy the annual interest of which (25 *kāḍi*) was to be utilised on the days of *Cittirai* and *Sravana* in *Puraṭṭāsi*, every year (*SII* XIII: 317).

The donor of the above records is identified as the queen of Prithiyaṅgaraiyar, the chief of Paṅgaḷanāḍu who figures in an epigraph of Kampavarmaṉ (*EI* XXXIII: 2) and also in the epigraphs of the early Cōḷa period (*ARE* 1973-74: 175). His queen, Pugaḻtuṉai Aḍiyār from the inscription of Kampavarmaṉ can be identified as Ilāḍapperumdēviyār, and both of them dug a channel called Viḻuppēraraiyaṉ for the merit of their daughter Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ. The two epigraphs of Āditya I, unmistakably reveal that the donor Pugaḻttuṉai Aḍiyār was the mother of Viḻuppēraraiyar Ayyakuṭṭiyaḍigal, and even after the extinction of the Pallava dynasty, the chief continued to hold his position under the Cōḷas as revealed by the epigraphs.

The *Perumguri Perummakkaḷ* of Tribuvaṉamādēvi - chaturvēdimaṅgalam during the reign of a Parakēśarivarmaṉ (Uttamacōḷa), made a gift of 4 *vēli* of land with a big well in it, a dry field and also some other land irrigated by the tank at Tiruvakkarai for the expenses of worship and offerings to the gods at Kaṟṟali Paramasvāmi and Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭāraka in the temple and also the appointment of four persons for performing worship and another 4 persons for music during the *Śrībali* service with provision made for their maintenance with a land as a gift obtained at the village, Āḻiyūr (*SII* XIX: 240).

Sembiyaṉ Mādēvi, whose name was synonymous with fervent devotion built a shrine called *Śivalōkam* in stone within the main temple (*SII* XVII: 200). She constructed the shrine before the 16th year of Rājarāja I This was the last shrine built by her. The earliest reference to this shrine is in an epigraph engraved

on the south base of a ruined Śiva shrine located inside the temple. She also donated a village, Maṇali in Āṇmūrunāḍu in Ōymānāḍu as a *dēvadāna* to the temple. This interesting epigraph gives valuable details on the rituals and services, temple personnel and numerous offerings made therein. It also gives elaborate details regarding the apportionment of the produce to be measured out by the villagers of Maṇali to the temple for various items of worship and offerings as also the minor incidental charges incurred in the transit of the produce and such other process. All expenses are counted in terms of paddy. This remittance was to be utilised for various food offerings, rituals and also for the maintenance of devotees, servants, priests, ritual experts and other personnel connected with the temple and its administration.

The temple personnel and the rituals conducted therein are enumerated as follows:

1. Person who performs worship.
2. Two bachelors *(māṇi)* to do the attendant work including cooking inside the sanctum sanctorum of the temple.
3. Musicians and drummers *(uvachchagaḷ)*.
4. Two persons who recite *Tiruppadiyam*.
5. A person who rears gardens and plucks flowers.
6. A lady who cleans, decorates and also prepares garlands.
7. Potter who makes pots for various purposes including cooking and bringing water for the bath of the deity.
8. Persons who serve as executives *(Śrīkāriyam seivārgaḷ)*
9. Person who washes the clothes of the deities.
10. Shepherds who received sheep and supplied ghee to the temple.

In the later period two other groups also came into existence.

1. The persons who have got the right *(kāṇi)* in the temple and who functioned as the recipients of the gifts from the donors and fulfilled their obligations. *(SII* XVIII: 206).
2. Another group was that of **dēvar-***aḍiyārs* who figure prominently for the first time in an epigraph of Kulōttuṅga I *(SII* XVIII: 204) and continued till the time of Vijayanagara ruler, Sāḷuva Narashiṅgadeva, who exempted the *dēvaraḍiyār* of this temple from the payment of levy *Kalattuṭṭi* *(SII* XVIII:220).

Thus the temple had many personnel on its roll, and the numerous services and rituals performed therein warranted more of them than what was actually figured in the epigraphs. The temple rituals include:

1. Feeding the devotees *(āṇḍār)* of the temple thrice a day.
2. *Śrībali* service during the night and on other auspicious occasions. It is of interest to note that during the reign of Rājarāja I an image for the procession of *Śrībali* service was donated to the temple by an individual.

3. Three times worship a day.

4. Special holy bath on *Saṅkrānti*, *ayana* and eclipses.

5. Clothing of the deity (*tiruparisaṭṭam*)

6. Anointment of the deity (*tirumeyppūchchu*).

7. For clothes and for the sprinkling of holy water (*uttariyam and jalapavitram*).

8. Images of the temple were bathed in pots of water on auspicious occasions such as *viṣu*.

9. The usual burning of the perpetual lamps on all days.

Thus the temple became a centre where on auspicious occasions people from all strata of the society gathered. The construction of *maṇḍapa* in the temple complex, facilitated the exposition of the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas* and other similar religious discourses, which were attended by many people.

How could the temple afford to conduct the numerous rituals, services and worship on ordinary occasions, and expensive festivals with grandeur and magnificence on auspicious occasions? No doubt the proliferation of numerous staff over the years and the performance of the above mentioned rituals had a telling effect on the economy of the temple. To support the growing staff on its roll, and to arrange for the innumerable rituals, the temple had to depend upon a reliable and continuous stream of income which was obtained through various sources, the most important being that of royal benefactions.

As already stated, the temple was located in a *Brahmadēya* village, which flourished under royal protection. The *Brahmadēya* village being a nucleus of the Cōḷa polity, royal patronage to the temple located in such a village became an effective means to bring them under the close surveillance of royal supervision. Thus Sembiyan Mādēvi donated a village to the temple (*SII* XVII: 200).

Though the temple received many endowments from the members of the royal family, there was also a corresponding increase in the number of rituals and services conducted therein. Added to these, the temple had to support its numerous staff. Unable to make both ends meet, as the years went by, a temple official, Piḍāran Ambalakkūttanaikkāṭṭi Gaṅgaikoṇḍān represented to the king to assign some lands for worship and repairs in the temple. The king Kulōttuṅga I granted lands and also the income from the levies, *antarāyam* and *achchiyabōgam* from the villages of Tiruvakkarai, Koraikkēṇi, Pēruṅgēṇi and Maṭṭaikkāl to the temple for its repairs (*SII* XVII: 207).

Again, an official of the Pāṇḍya king, Māravarman-vikrama pāṇdya III assigned the *pāḍikkāval* collected both from the wet and dry land of the temple, to the temple itself to perform some rituals therein. Thus, the revenue collected from the temple land, instead of going to the government, was diverted to the temple itself (*SII* XVII: 201).

The same king also donated some lands in order to conduct some services in his own name in the temple (*SII* XVII: 202).

Thus in all the above instances, the temple was richly endowed by

continuous royal benefactions, which reveal a close relationship between the rulers and the *Brahmadēya* village, where the temple in question was situated.

An interesting aspect of the numerous gifts made by the donors, is the signal fact that they were not only from the same vilalge, but also from the neighbouring and the distant places. In this connection it is worthwhile to refer to an epigraph of Rājēndra I (*SII* XVII: 205). An individual hailing from the northern hamlet of Tiruvakkarai, Āṟrup-pākkam, donated a metal bell to the temple and two other gifts of 95 sheep to burn a perpetual lamp to Tiruvamattu - uḍaiyār - Mahādēva of Vaḻudavūr a northern hamlet of Tiruvakkarai and the shepherds of the same hamlet agreed to supervise the endowment. There is another gift of 96 sheep to burn a lamp to Tiruvagattisvaramuḍaiyār of Oḻuga-rai, a hamlet situated to the west of Tiruvakkarai and the sheep were entrusted to the care of a shepherd of Vaḻudāvūr as noted in the previous endowment. It is of interest to note that the endowments to other temples in and around Tiruvakkarai by donors from other hamlets were engraved on the walls of this temple.

This fact reveals the spatial mobility of the donors from one village to another and make endowments and the popularity of the temple in the contemporary society.

To conclude, the Tiruvakkarai temple built by the early Chola ruler, Kochcheṅgaṇāṉ and subsequently endowed by the Cōḻa, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara rulers, stood as a magnificent religious centre attracting people of all walks of life from far and near. A study of the gift patterns in the temple reveals the fact that the village life was closely related to the temple.

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THE CONCEPT OF TRIPURĀNTAKA AND RĀJARĀJA I

A.Ekambaranathan

In the religious history of the Tamil country, the period of the Cōḻas witnessed the growth of brāhmaṇical sects, particularly Śaivism. With the advent of the Cōḻas to political power, temple building activities gained momentum and a large number of religious structures, replete with elegant and subtle forms of divinities, were built in different parts of the country. This development reached its culmination in the last part of the 10th century A.D., providing aesthetic content to the religious and spiritual aspirations of the common man and the rulers alike. An attempt is made in this paper to bring to light the concept and forms of Tripurāntaka, one of the Saṁhāramūrtis of Śiva, and how it had been incorporated in the contemporary literature and art of the time of Rājarāja I. The Tripuradahana theme perhaps served as a source of inspiration to the mighty emperor Rājarāja who was intent on conquest and assertion of power, as is evident from literary works, epigraphic records and sculptural wealth.

Literature:

The contemporary literary works like the *Tiruvisaippā* and the eleventh *Tirumuṟai* throw welcome light on this aspect of Śiva. One of the hymns of Sendaṉār embodies a lovely portrayal of the lord possessing the mountain as the bow, the serpent as its string, Viṣṇu forming the barb of the arrow and Brahma acting as the charioteer (*ST* 2:6). Nambiāṇḍārnambi, on the other hand, states that Viṣṇu assumed the form of a bull to bear the weight of the chariot and Brahma acted as the charioteer, and thus became subservient to Śiva during his encounter with the Tripura *asuras* (*Tirumuṟai* 11, *KV* 26).

Karuvūr Dēvar also describes the episode of Tripuradahana in some of his poems (*KDT* 6:5, 6). Besides, he alludes to the episode of Śiva conferring grace upon the three *asuras* after their defeat (*KDT* 6:7). This is in conformity with the *Tēvāram* tradition that among the three *asuras*, two became Śiva's door-keepers and the third became a *gaṇa* playing upon the drum (*Tēvāram* 4:69, 7: 65:8).

Sculptures:

The Brhadisvara temple at Thanjavur is a veritable museum of sculptures, depicting different forms of Śaivite deities. Of all the forms of Śiva, Tripurāntaka had received greater attention than the others in this temple. There

are more than twelve sculptures representing Tripurāntaka in various forms, adorning the second row of *devakoṣṭhas* around the main shrine. Normally, repetition of one and the same forms of the deity in the *devakoṣṭhas* is not a common feature in temples. Neither the *āgamas* nor the *śilpa* texts have provision for such repetitive installation. This deviation from the *śilpa* and *āgamic* injunctions may presumably be due to Rājarāja's admiration for the war-myth of Tripuradahana.

Apart from these sculptures, two narrative panels, forming part of the same episode, are also found on the eastern side wall of the southern flight of steps leading to the transept of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and on the Vikramaṉ *tiruvāsal*. Here, Viṣṇu, in the form of Buddha, is shown deluding the Tripura *asuras*. The details of these panels are discussed in some other context.

Bronze Image:

Bronze images of Tripurāntaka were not uncommon in the period under study. An exceptionally beautiful image, originally found in the Bṛhadīśvara temple, now in the Thanjavur art gallery, (Sivaramamurti 1976: pl.7) exhibits the artistic tradition of the Cōḻas. The image with four arms, gracefully stands on a *padmapīṭha*, the right leg planted firmly on the ground, and the left leg placed on the head of Apasmāra. Except the *paraśu* in the upper right hand, all the other attributes are missing now. The smiling countenance, plasticity of the body and the lovely contours thereon clearly reveal the excellence of the master-craftsmen of the time of Rājarāja.

Painting:

The inner wall of the ambulatory passage around the main shrine of the Bṛhadīśvara temple contains a number of fresco paintings executed during the reign of Rājarāja, and notable among them is a magnificent panel representing the Tripuradahana myth. Tripurāntaka, with eight arms holding weapons like bow, arrow etc., stands in *aliḍha* posture on the chariot driven by Brahma, Gaṇeśa, Muruga and Durgā on their respective mounts join hands with Śiva in the encounter with the *asuras*. The *asuras* and their retinue are shown opposite to the *devas*.

The novel feature of this composition is the presence of a seated figure in the central zone in yogic posture, wearing a robe running over the left shoulder. It has been identified with Buddha who is said to represent the *māyāmoha* 'archdeluder' form of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is stated to have incarnated as Buddha to delude the Tripura *asuras* who are also shown here by his side in reverence. It may be said in passsing that one of the Pallava inscriptions from Mahabalipuram includes Buddha as the nineth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (*ARE* 1922-23: 663).

The *Bhakti* saints glorify that Viṣṇu assumed the form of a wicked person, preached false doctrines, and caused confusion among the *daityas*. It was because of this deceitful act of Viṣṇu, that Śiva could bring about the destruction of the forts of the *asuras* (*Tirumuṟai* 1:56:5).

The same account of Viṣṇu's role is elaborated in the Liṅgapurāṇa and Śivapurāṇa. The Liṅgapurāṇa states that Viṣṇu created obstacles

to the *asuras* by means of his *māyā* and preached heretical principles to delude them (*Liṅga Purāṇa* 71:89-97) The Śivapurāṇa adds that Viṣṇu created a *puruṣa* born of himself with shaven head, dirty clothes and a *kamaṇḍalū* in his hand. The *puruṣa*, otherwise called Arhat, entered the Tripura and taught non-violence and Buddhist doctrines to the *asuras* (Śiva Purāṇa 3:5:4:1-2, 3:5:5:18-35). The *devas* complained to Śiva that his *asura* devotees had resorted to Buddha's religion, which provoked him to shoot an arrow and burn their castles. The Thanjavur painting conveys the very same idea of Viṣṇu as Buddha deluding the Tripura *asuras*.

Such an idiom also finds expression in stone in the same temple. The eastern side wall of the southern flight of steps leading to the transept of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* has a panel representing Buddha underneath a tree, flanked by *asuras*. In the upper portion, the three *asuras* are shown in *añjali* pose. In the panel on the southern entrance, Buddha is shown standing beneath a tree, attended by the *asuras* on one side. In the next part, Buddha, in seated posture, is seen deluding the *asura* folk. In the upper portion, the three demons, with their hands held in *añjali*, offer worship, probably to Siva, and this would suggest the final act of their surrender to Tripurāntaka. Thus the master-craftsmen of the time of Rājarāja had faithfully translated the puranic idiom of Viṣṇu's role as Buddha into a fresco painting and narrative sculptures.

This idea also reveals the sectarian nature of the Śaivites of the Cōḷa period. Contemporary literary works continue to express hatred towards the heretical sects such as of the Jains and the Buddhists. They are described as followers of pseudo-doctrines and speakers of untruth (*TT* 2:6, 4:8). Thus, Buddha is deliberately brought into the myth of Tripuradahana. Besides, the same episode also relegates Brahma and Viṣṇu to the background and thereby establishes the superiority of Siva. Though Rājarāja has not been described as a religious bigot, the adoption of this theme in the Bṛhadīśvara temple would show his love for the Tripuradahana myth and his unstinted devotion to Lord Śiva.

Nakkaṉ:

Nakkaṉ is one of the attributive epithets of Siva. The *Tēvāram* tradition is such that Śiva laughed at the three castles and the very reverberations of the boisterous laughter reduced them to ashes. It was because of this act of laughing at the castles, Śiva came to be called Nakkaṉ. The same name of Śiva also finds place in the literary works of the Cōḷa period. This special feature of *aṭṭahāsa* is also well brought out in most of the sculptures and bronze images of Tripurāntaka, that they bear a smiling countenance instead of an expression of anger.

It is interesting to observe that Rājarāja appointed hundreds of maid servants in the Big Temple, whose names are invariably prefixed with the epithet Nakkaṉ (*SII* 2:66). Sometimes the same epithet is either prefixed or suffixed to the names of some male servants who had to supply curd, ghee etc. to the temple (*SII* 2: 94). These servants belonging to different families were drawn from various parts of the Cōḷa country. However, they had in common the epithet Nakkaṉ along

with their personal names. Obviously, after their association with the Bṛhadīśvara temple, the epithet Nakkaṉ had been attributed to them. It may not be out of place to mention that two of Rājarāja's queen's Pañchavaṉ Mahādēvi and Tillaiaḻagiyar had also the epithet Nakkaṉ prefixed to their names (*ARE* 1924: Pt.II). Since Rājarāja had a fascination for the Tripurāntaka aspect, the maid servants and some others attached to the Big Temple had been provided with this epithet.

The utmost attention paid to this theme and its incorporation in the contemporary art reflects the great personality of Rājarāja and his policy of war and conquest. Like Tripurāntaka, he had also subjugated his enemies and made them subservient to him. He had expanded the relatively small state at the time of his accession, into a vast empire mainly by his war and conquests. Politically and economically his empire became strong and on the summit of which he could stand unrivalled and unparalleled.

It is apt that the master craftsmen of Rājarāja had chosen the Tripuradahana theme which is not simply the story of Śiva destroying the Tripura *asuras*, but "the theme of Rājarāja's life itself, of a great warrior, a great benefactor and a king among kings".

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THE CŌḺA PAINTINGS: A TECHNICAL VIEW

N.Harinarayana

It is generally held that archaeology is synonymous with art, history, iconography and literature, and that it is somewhat sacrilegious to talk in terms of scientific techniques, while brimming with euphoria about archaeology and art. On the other hand, it has been stated by an eminent historian of science and technology that when a history of technology has to be written, it has to be based on the study of artistic masterpieces in Museums. This is so since most frequently it is only in making artistic masterpieces that the best of materials and techniques available at any time and place are used. Therefore the study of artistic masterpieces is the best means of knowing about the heights reached by technology at any time and place. Interestingly, the artist also tries to use new materials and new techniques in creating his masterpieces. It is said that when iron was discovered and was still a rare metal, it was used to decorate objects of gold, much as we use gold inlay on objects of iron today. Similarly, it is on record that soon after aluminium was discovered in the last century, the King of Denmark made a crown of aluminium for himself because, at that time, it was a rare and unique metal fit for royal headgear. In fact, the greatness of an artist consists as much in his handling of the materials at his command as in the actual delineation of his ideas through the materials.

It is from this point of view that the present paper deals with Cōḻa Paintings and their technical knowhow. It would not concern itself with the artistic aspects of these exquisite paintings. They have been discussed lucidly and adequately by competent scholars and art historians. But there is one point that is noteworthy: the clearly discernible difference between Cōḻa paintings and those that came after them from the Hoysala times onwards. There is a definite demarcation in style reminiscent of Ajanta and Ellora and the Vijayanagar and Nāyak paintings. In these early paintings, figures have been portrayed in all poses, frontal and in profile. But from the Hoysala times onwards, there is a preponderance of figures in profile and there is a great deal of stylisation. How and why this radical change came about is worth studying. Why did the artists go over to so much stylisation and so much depiction in profile in later times? An aesthetic study of these aspects of the paintings would be revealing and rewarding.

The extant Cōḻa paintings are not extensive. There are fragments

of early Cōḻa paintings at Nārthamalai, Malayaḍipaṭṭi and other places. In the Vijayālaya Cōḻīśvaram at Nārthamalai dancing figures of Kāḷi and *Ghandharvas* on the ceiling of the antechamber of the temple are excellent pieces. At Panamalai in the North Arcot District, there are remnants of painting on the brick wall of the outermost chamber in the Lakṣmīvara *Maṇḍapam*, which represent the last phase of Cōḻa Art. But all these remnants are too fragmentary to give a comprehensive picture of Cōḻa achievement in painting. Therefore, when the term Cōḻa painting is mentioned, it is predominantly the paintings in the circumambulatory passage around the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Bṛhadīśvara Temple in Thanjavur that are implied. The circumambulatory passage is divided into thirteen chambers in which there are paintings on the walls on either side and on the ceiling. At first glance, one sees paintings in dark colours and further darkened by time and damaged in many places. On closer inspection, it is found that these form actually an upper layer of paintings done in the Nāyak period. Wherever these paintings have fallen off or have been removed, it is found that there is a layer of delicate, soft-coloured compactly-laid paintings which are different from the ones above them in style and technique. These are the Cōḻa paintings, and for a long time they remained unknown until S.K.Govindaswamy (1931) discovered them in 1930 and brought them to public attention.

From that time onwards, these paintings have been studied extensively and preserved carefully. Conservation chemists have worked on them in places to remove with meticulous care the upper layer of Nāyak paintings and reveal the exquisite Cōḻa paintings. What has been revealed is artistic creation of a high order. Various episodes from Śaivite mythology are depicted in them. The figures of the king riding on elephant, the dancer and the Tripurāntaka, the portraits of Rājarāja Cōḻa and Karuvūrār are noteworthy. Interspersed with the figures of deities, there are figures of ordinary people going about their avocations -- cooks in the kitchen, warriors in their uniforms -- and animal figures.

What is remarkable in these paintings is that, apart from the mastery of artistic portrayal, there is obvious mastery in the use of materials and technique. The colours are subdued and soft. The lines are clear and precise. The surface of the paintings is polished and compact. It is clear that a Cōḻa artist was not only great in his conception of art forms but also great in his handling of materials.

This was borne out by investigations into the technique of these paintings carried out in 1935 by S.Paramasivan (1936, 1937, 1937(a), 1940) who was then in charge of the Archaeological Chemistry Laboratory of the Government Museum, Madras, and whose services were specially requisitioned for this task. He carried out a thorough investigation into the composition of the layers of the paintings and the pigments used.

Before we go further, it is necessary to know something about the structure of a painting so as to understand better the techniques in executing it. Any painting is a composite structure of a minimum of three

layers called the *support*, the *ground* and the *pigment* layers. The support is any flat surface on which a painting is done such as a wall, a wooden plank, a sheet of paper, or a piece of canvas. The ground is the layer applied on to the support to give a uniform surface on which the picture could be drawn. The pigment layer is the one which contains the picture that has been put together by the use of pigments. In mural paintings, depending on circumstances, the number of layers may be more. For instance, if the support is an uneven wall made of pieces of rock, it may be necessary to apply first a rough layer of plaster over it for correcting unevenness of the surface and then apply on this rough layer, a fine layer of plaster which could be smoothened and polished to give a well-finished surface for drawing the picture.

Another factor concerning the structure of a painting is the manner in which the various layers are made to stick together. For this purpose, various adhesives are used with the material for the ground or pigment layers. In some cases, such as fresco paintings, chemical properties of the materials themselves are used to achieve the adhesion of the layers. The only material which is used for this purpose is lime which, when exposed to air, absorbs carbon-dioxide and becomes a carbonate. This simple natural chemical reaction helps lime to stick well to a surface on which it is put in the form of a thick layer. This can be done in two ways: one in which the painted layer is applied to the ground when it is still wet and in the other the pigment layer is applied to the dried layer of ground. The first method is a very difficult process, because the picture has to be drawn before the thin layer of the ground dries up. This means that only limited areas can be painted at one time, and an artist should have conceived the complete painting in his mind and should put it together area by area without allowing border lines to be seen. Such a painting however has got the advantage that the wet lime of the pigment layer seeps into the wet layer of the ground. When this lime turns into calcium carbonate on absorbing carbon-dioxide from the air, the particles of the two layers are bonded together by the crystalline particles of the carbonate. This gives fresco paintings a compact and durable surface and therefore they last a long time. In the case of paintings using adhesives like gums, resins etc., there is a possibility that after sometime the adhesives may lose their power of adhesion or become decomposed and in such a case the bonding between the layers gets loosened and the layers get separated and even fall off. In the case of a painting done on the dried surface of the ground called *fresco-secco*, the bonding is not as good as the one for *fresco-buono* but is better than for paintings using adhesive.

Any investigation into painting techniques of murals involves the study of a cross-section of the painting to find out the thickness of the various layers and their physical and chemical composition. This is done carefully by removing a very small fragment of the painting in an inconspicuous corner and subjecting it to examination under the microscope and to chemical tests. This was exactly what was done on fragments of the paintings in the Bṛhadīśvara temple. It was found that the supporting wall was made of blocks of horn-blende gneiss which is a

stable rock. The surface of the blocks is however rough and uneven. Over this, a rough layer of plaster was laid. On chemical analysis, this layer was found to consist of lime and coarse particles of sand. This is followed by a second coat of fine lime plaster consisting of fine particles of lime and sand. This layer is burnished with a polishing stone. On measuring the thickness of the various layers, it was found that the rough plaster layer was thicker than the fine plaster layer. The following were the actual thicknesses of the two layers in the Cōḻa and the Nāyak paintings (S.Paramasivan (1937).

Thickness of plaster layers:

	Cōḻa	Nāyak
Entire cross section	2.6 mm.	2.4 to 3 mm.
First layer	1.8 mm.	1.5 to 2.2 mm.
Second layer	0.7 mm.	0.6 mm.

The chemical analyses of the two layers yielded the following results:

	Cōḻa		Nāyak	
	Rough	Finish	Rough	Finish
Morufura	0.38	0.23	3.14	3.77
Silica (SiO_2)	49.97	7.02	63.39	13.76
Iron & aluminium	1.89	1.06	3.69	1.59
Carbon dioxide (CO_2)	18.05	25.13	9.38	23.67
Sulphuric anhydride	0.26	0.58	0.17	0.59
Magnesia (MgO)	0.51	0.37	0.33	1.02
Lime (CaO)	27.88	65.59	18.56	55.58
Undetermined (mostly alkalis)	1.05	nil	1.34	nil
Total	99.99	99.98	100.00	99.98

From the analyses it may be seen that there is more of silica or sand in the rough plaster layer and less of lime. The reverse is the case for the fine plaster layer. This was so in the Cōḻa painting as well as the Nāyak painting. It was also established through microscopic examination and specific gravity tests that no marble dust or unburnt shell was present in the plasters.

The pigments used by the Thanjavur artists were limited in range. One reason for this was that pigments which are sensitive to alkalis cannot be used with lime. Even with this limited range, the Thanjavur artist produced astonishing colour effects. This was further complicated by the fact that generally all pigments used in fresco show a lighter colour

on drying. So the artist should have a good idea of the relative warmth of the tones to be expected after drying. To work in that dark circum-ambulatory chamber and still to achieve the harmony of colours, which the Thanjavur artist ultimately did achieve in his masterpieces, testifies to his extraordinary mastery of technique.

The following is the list of colours found in the Cola paintings and the pigments used to get them according to the investigations of Paramasivan (1937).

White	...	Lime
Black	...	Wood charcoal or lamp black.
Blue	...	Ultramarine
Yellow, brown, red	...	Ochres.
Yellowish-green	...	Ultramarine and Yellow.
Light blue	...	Ultramarine, the colour of which has been toned down probably by mixing lime with it. It is equally probable that silica or fine sand has been added, since all these pigments contain particles of silica.
Flesh tint	...	This gives a test only for iron and calcium carbonate. It might have been obtained by mixing red and white.

The Nāyak layers have all these colours except the flesh tint and have in addition white and bluish-green colours.

As to how these pigments were mixed and prepared for painting, Paramasivan found no clue. Only in the case of black pigment, he hazards the guess that carbon was ground with a little glue or gum in water, pressed into convenient shapes and used in this form. Talking about pigment preparation, it is found that the *śilpa* texts uniformly suggest addition of a binding medium like gum arabic or animal glue. Chemical investigations of the Cōḻa layers did not reveal the presence of any organic material in the plaster layers of pigments.

It is the method of laying down the pigment layer that decides the type of painting done. In the case of the Cōḻa layer, Paramasivan's meticulous tests on the fragments collected by him led him to believe firmly that no binding medium was used and that the pigments might have been mixed with lime and applied, while the surface of the fine plaster layer was still wet, which leads to the conclusion that the process used was one of *fresco buono*. In such a process, only a limited area of the wall surface is painted at a time, and normally work on successive days is easily revealed by joinings in the plaster, which are ingeniously covered over by the artists. Such lines have been known to exist in the frescoes of the Sistine

Chapel in Rome, but in the Cōḻa frescoes, such joints have not been observed. This is attributed to the fact that the paintings in one wall are divided into horizontal panels by patches of colour, and each panel might have been worked out by an artist or group of artists. "The area of the panels varies from about 24 square feet to 60 square feet".

This aspect of the paintings was discussed by Ananda Coomaraswamy in a subsequent communication to *Technical Studies* in which Paramasivan's paper on the Cōḻa painting technique had appeared. Ananda Coomaraswamy confirmed from textual sources that it was not 'improbable' for several artists to work on a single painting. "Our object has been only to show, in connection with Paramasivan's paper, that there would be nothing improbable in supporting that a considerable body of painters may have worked together on the Tha..ja .r walls which could thus have been finished quite rapidly", said Ananda Coomaraswamy.

This further supported Paramasivan's contention that the Cōḻa paintings on the walls of the Bṛhadīśvara temple were executed in *fresco buono* technique. He refuted vigorously the suggestion of Sana Ullah, Archaeological Chemist of the Archaeological Survey of India, that the paintings might have been done *in tempera*. Notwithstanding Paramasivan's vigorous assertion based on his findings that the technique of the Cōḻa paintings was *fresco buono*, B.B.Lall (1966), who was later the Chemist of the Archaeological Survey of India, has concluded that the painting technique adopted at Thanjavur by the Cola artists was *tempera* and not fresco. In this connection, it may be noted that Paramasivan himself has noticed the use of *tempera* technique in some of the Cola paintings, but explained that these might be subsequent retouchings. Paramasivan's comprehensive investigations and detailed analyses of his findings are sufficiently convincing so as to confirm that the Cōḻa paintings at Thanjavur executed in the *fresco buono* technique.

The fresco technique was something of a *unique* South Indian achievement. It had been used at Sittannavasal in the 7th Century A.D. Then it appeared in the Cola paintings at Thanjavur. The technique seemed to have been independently developed by the Cōḻa artists, for no trace of foreign influence could be detected. In his survey of Indian wall paintings, Paramasivan (1940) concludes, "From our enquiry, it is very difficult to speak of the foreign origin of Indian fresco technique, or to estimate the extent of India's indebtedness, if any, to the painting techniques of the classical Western world".

It may be noted further that the pigments used in the Cola frescoes were all of mineral origin except for carbon black. They were most probably locally obtained because they are common minerals. What is impressive is the way they have been handled to create these masterpieces in the corridor around the sanctum of the Big Temple.

There is nothing that could be derived from the paintings about the brushes used in executing the paintings. There is enough material about brushes, commonly used in ancient times, in texts about painting. *Vartika* was the pointed stump made from "the sweet smelling root *khachora*

mixed with boilded rice", and was used for sketching. Brushes were called *kurchakas, lekhinis* and *tulikas.* They were composed of soft hair from the ear of a calf, the squirrels's tail and the belly of a sheep and were of a variety of thicknesses (Sivaramamurti 1970).

There is no evidence available in these Cola paintings for tracing the steps by which the paintings were executed. Usually, the Indian artist made drawings on paper and transferred them to the prepared wall by pricking and pouncing the outlines. Though S.K.Govindaswamy reported finding such outlines in the Thanjavur paintings, Paramasivan could not find them.

Further comprehensive scientific investigation of these Cola paintings may help to unravel more facts about their technical excellence. What has already been revealed shows that they were executed in the fresco technique, unique to this part of the country in those early times and confirms the sheer mastery of the Cōḷa artist over technique as well as art.

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THE CŌḶA TEMPLES OF ŚRĪ LAṄKĀ - A STUDY

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The rule of the Pallavas in Tamil Nadu, after the Kaḷabra interregnum in the 6th century A.D., ushered in a new era in the field of Hindu Culture of that time. With the rise of *bhakti* cult during their time the Temple emerged as a repository of Hindu Culture, and Temple Art became one of the primary media through which the creative genius of the people became manifest. During the period of Cōḷa rule in Tamil Nadu (from the middle of the 9th century A.D. to the 13th century A.D.) not only the many art forms which came into vogue during the Pallava days attained fruition with the introduction of the new forms in keeping with the religious development of the time, but also the artistic activities of the Pallavas were extended throughout Tamil Nadu and to the peripheral regions as well as to their dominions.

Sri Lanka became part of the imperial Cōḷa dominion for a period of seventy seven years (993 A.D. - 1070 A.D.). It was made a province of the Cōḷa empire and named Mummudiccōḷamaṇḍalam. Anurādhapura which was the capital of Sri Lanka since the beginnings of the historical period and lasted well over a thousand years was abandoned in favour of Polonnaruwa -- a former military outpost -- which was renamed Janaṇāthamaṅgalam. The elements of Cōḷa administration and culture of the mainland (South India) were introduced to the Island. Cōḷa Royalty, bureaucrats, military forces and the trading guilds became a substantial element of the Hindu population of the day and they, according to the inscriptional evidences, patronised the Hindu Temples in Sri Lanka. In Polonnaruwa alone, so far, 10 Śiva Temples/*Devales*, 5 Viṣṇu Temples/*Devales* and 1 Kāḷi Temple/*Devale* have been brought to light. Of these Śiva *Devales* 2,5 and 6 seem to be of Cōḷa origin as known from the architectural features and the epigraphical evidences (Indrapala 1970:13). It is customary to divide Cōḷa Art into three phases (Mahalingam 1968:43). They are the Early phase: Vijayālaya to Rājarāja I (A.D. 859 - A.D.985); the Middle phase: Rājarāja I to Kulotuṅga I (A.D.985 - A.D.1070) and the Late phase: Kulotuṅga to Rājēndra III (A.D.1070 to A.D.1275). In the context of the above chronological division, the Temple Art of the Cōḷas in Sri Lanka falls into the earlier two phases only.

The Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka which excavated these remains has given numerical numbers

to these Temples based on their order of discovery. Hence Śiva *Devale* 2, seems to be the earliest Cōḷa monument built in Polonnaruwa. The inscription found at the site tells us that it was named as Vāṇa-vaṇmādēvi-Īśvaram after the wife of Rājarāja I (Bell 1906:17-21). In plan, this Temple has four components. They are the *garbha-gṛha* or innermost shrine (20' 6" square), preceded by a vestibule *(antarāḷa)* smaller in dimension but forming one structure united in the front to an *ardha-maṇḍapam* (15' 6" x 10') of virtually the same size as the *antarāḷa*. To this a further *maṇḍapam* (30' x 23') was attached.

With regard to its *vimana*, Bell observed that "A Drāvidian pattern *vimāna* rising pyramidically in three storeys (the first parapet edged by simulated domical cells and corridors with dormer *'Chaitya* windows' at intervals) to an octagonal dome, from a boldly moulded basement which supports a slightly recessed ground floor whose exterior walls are niched, pilastered and capped by a pronounced cornice of ogee flexure relieved by chaitya window ornamentation" (Bell 1906:18). He finally concludes that "its architechtural form seems to at once class it with Hindu forms of South India erected from the 10th to 12th centuries, of which the great Temple at Tanjore is the finest and the most elaborate exponent" (Bell 1906: 21). Paranavitane (1973:79) while writing on this Temple, observed that "Śiva *Devale* 2" is the only monument at Polonnaruwa constructed entirely of stone and is in a satisfactory state of preservation. It is also the earliest in date of the monuments now preserved at Plonnaruwa and is the representative example of the Drāviḍian Architecture at its best". Moreover mention may be made of the existence of three small Temples within the Temple complex. Of these, two have been identified as the Temples of *Gaṇeśa* and *Skanda* (Bell 1906:21). It also appears that near this Śiva *Devale* 2, two minor shrines of Viṣṇu under the designations of "Paḷḷi Koṇḍār" and "Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷar" were in existence (Bell 1906:22).

Śiva *Devale* 5 is made of five component parts. They are sanctum or *garbha gṛha* (21' square), (b) (c) two vestibules, inner (*antarāla* (7'x9'), and outer *(ardhamaṇḍapam)* '(9' 3"x8'9") and (d) (e) (f) three Halls or *maṇḍapams* (25' x 23"; 24' x 23"; 75' 6" x 33' 9"). The outermost *maṇḍapam* or *mukha-maṇḍapam* is the largest and most spacious with forty pillars (Bell 1908:5). At this juncture a comparison of the two, namely Śiva *Devale* 2 and Śiva *Devale* 5, would give us some idea of their significance. Vertically, while the Śiva *Devale* 2 was 31' 9" in height, Śiva *Devale* 5 was 36' 4". Furthermore, the Śiva *Devale* 5 which itself is a brick built Temple, excepting a few material variations here and there, conformed closely to the exterior form, mouldings and ornamentation of Śiva *Devale* 2. While discussing the salient features of these Temples, Bell observed that "at the shrines of both *Devales* the quadrature is broken from the basement upwards by a duplicated recess in the outline of the wall on each face, leaving a middle projection with one less broad at either side between each recess and the corner of the wall. Furthermore, in addition to the elongated central niche with its dimidiated pair of pilasters and

the full pilasters common to both *Devales,* a distinct variation was introduced in Śiva *Devale* 5 by inserting in the recess, on either side of the central bay, an extra niche exactly similar to that at the middle save in its diminutiveness". Distinctiveness of both *Devales* also could be seen in the make up of the vestibule of the *Devale* 5 (Bell 1908:5). Finally, Bell mentions about five small Temples within the Temple premises. Of these Temples those of *Gaṇeśa* and *Sapta - mātṛkas* have been identified by him (Bell 1908:6).

Śiva *Devale* 6 appears in plan to have followed the lines of Śiva *Devale* 5, omitting the two outer *maṇḍapams.* Thus there is at the back (a) the square shaped *sanctum* (8' square), preceded by double vestibules *antarāḷa* (4' 8" x7' 6") and *ardhamaṇḍapam* (9' 2" x 7' 6") to which (d) a single *maṇḍapam* (2 0 ' x 6" x 14' x 9") was attached. This Hall was not entered from the front. Instead (e) a side room (17' square) was built on to the south side of the (d) *maṇḍapam.* The only entrance to the *Devale* was through the north end of the east wall of this small room and so by a doorway in the south side wall of the *maṇḍapam* on and interior of the Temple. In short the Temple complex on the whole from the front to the back was 54' 4" in extent. Bell (1908:7) finally alludes to the existence of three double-roomed small Temples within the Temple premises as in the case of Śiva *Devale* 2 . Thus these Temples (Śiva *Devale* 2, 5 and 6) though few in number and modest in their proportions are the best representatives of the Cōḷa architecture of the early and the middle phases.

Paḍaviya in the North Central Province of Sri Lanka was also another Cōḷa stronghold in the 11th century A.D. Referring to the discovery of the inscription of Rājarāja I here, Indrapala /(1971:33) observed that "Inscriptions of this monarch have not been found at Polonnaruwa... . The fact that a record of Rājarāja I has been found only at Paḍaviya makes one wonder whether Paḍaviya served as the capital city for the Cōḷas before they moved to Polonnaruwa". However, all in all, six Śiva *Devales* have been reported from Paḍaviya (Veluppillai 1972:11, 23-31; Indrapala 1971:32-36). Unfortunately, while most of the upper portions were desecrated, only the foundations remain to reveal the story of their former glory (Godakumbura 1962: G 67). Of the six inscriptions five have been found at Śiva *Devale* 1 and one at Śiva *Devale* 5. They in fact reveal the names of the founders of these Temples. They are *Nārāyaṇaṉ Tirucirrampalamuṭaiyāṉ, Varataṉ, Tirumāl, Aḻakaṉ Vattumaṉ* (Veluppillai 1972:11; 23-24). Some of the shrines at least seem to have been either built on the original Buddhist shrines or their materials were used for the buildings of these Temples (Godakumbura 1962: G 67).

Inscriptions also reveal the existence of the Cōḷa Temples at Medirigiriya and Atakada in the North Central Province of Sri Lanka, although no actual remains have survived. Judging from the provenance of the inscription found at Medirigiriya, this Śiva Temple appears to have stood in the vicinity of the Medirigiriya Buddhist establishment. This Temple is referred to as Paṇḍita-cōḷa-īśvaram after Rājarāja I, one of whose many titles was

Paṇḍita-Cōḻa (Indrapala 1971:25-28). The inscription found at Atakada mentions Uttama-cōḻa-īśvaram named during Rājarāja's time in memory of his predecessor (Veluppillai 1972:1: 20).

The existence of two Śiva Temples in the famous port-town of Matota, in North Western Sri Lanka during the days of the Cōḻa rule, is also known from the inscriptions. They are Rājarāja-Īśvaram and Tiruviram-Īśvaram (Pathmanathan 1976). Although we have evidence for the prevalence of the Śiva cult here from ancient times, we still do not know whether the Cōḻas re-named the then existing Temples or remodelled them or built fresh ones in their place. In the absence of any remains of these Temples, the evidence from a fragmentary Cōḻa inscription from Fort Hammenhel (Kayts) (Indrapala 1971:10) has given us some clue of this structure. The brick on which this inscription is inscribed appears to have formed part of a door jamb in an earlier building, for on one end of it is an ornamental petal design of the type normally found on the door-jambs of the Drāviḍian type Temples. The contents of the record also indicate that the brick was brought from Matota to this place. All that we know from this record is that the Cōḻa commander-in-chief Jayamkoṇṭa mūventa-vēḷār did something at Matota, presumably at a Hindu Temple there. The present inscription was apparently set up to register that deed.

The Śiva Temples in the eastern part of the Island namely at Trincomalee and Kantalai also seemed to have been patronised by the Cōḻas. For the Cōḻa inscription from Mananкeni (Gunasingham 1974) and Nilaveli (Gunasingham 1975) speak of *Machchakeśvaram* which was used as an alternative term for the Kōṇeśvaram Temple at Trincomalee. Hindu structures have a hoary past in Matota and Trincomalee although we have not come across any substantial art remains of these, datable to pre-Cōḻa and Cōḻa times. The inscription dated to the Cōḻa Ilaṅkeśvara Tēvar mentions of a *brāhmadēya* settlement during the Cōḻa rule at Kaṅtalai (Gunasingham 1974). Although no architectural remains have been recovered so far, the discovery of Hindu images of Mahā-Viṣṇu, Pārvati, Nandi and Āvuḍaiyār at this site and the presence of a Hindu shrine in the same locality do suggest that its origin would go as far back to the period of Cōḻa rule in Sri Lanka (Gunasingham 1974:5). It is even suggested that Vijaya-rāja-Īśvaram at Kantalai and Vikkrama Cōḻa-Īśvaram at Makal (in Kurunagal district) were originally Cōḻa Temples which were later re-named during the period of the later Sinhalese Kings (Pathmanathan 1978:55).

The above survey indicates the existence of 3 Śiva Temples at Polonnaruwa, 5 at Paḍaviya, 1 each at Medirigiriya and Atakada, 2 at Matota, 1 at Trincomalee and probably more than one at Kantalai. Unfortunately, excepting the Temples at Polonnaruwa, we are at a loss with regard to the architectural features of the other Temples. The fact that the Polonnaruwa Temples were modelled on the early and the middle phase of the Cōḻa art, coupled with their other architectural details, compels us to visualise that, structurally, Temples in other places too would have been similar to those at Polonnaruwa.

The excavations at the above Temple sites at Polonnaruwa have revealed the finest Bronzes of the Cōḷa rule in Sri Lanka. They in fact form a separate chapter in the field of iconography. In the premises of Śiva *Devale* 5, all in all, nineteen bronzes and eight items of statuary were found (Bell 1908:7). They include the Bronzes of Naṭarāja, Śiva, Pārvati, Viṣṇu, Śaiva saints and Chandraśekarar. Stone images of Dakṣināmūrti, Saptamātṛkas and Gaṇeśa are some of the other important findings. However, the year 1960 proved to be an epochal year in the discovery of Bronzes in the site. The large Bronzes were intentionally buried after the last ritual awaiting the return of a good time for them to be exhumed (Godakumbura 1961: G 73). Soon after the discovery of these a number of small figures and other objects were found buried in a pot. Of the larger group of Bronzes, mention may be made of Śiva as Naṭarāja, Śiva as Somāskandamūrti, Viṣṇu as Bhogasthānamūrti, statues of Pārvati, Sarasvathī, Lakshmī, Chandraśekarar, Gaṇeśa and Sundaramūrti. The latter group found in the pot included the images of Śiva as Naṭarāja, Śiva as Baṭuka Bhairava, two Goddesses, Nandi, Gaṇeśa in stone and two Śivaliṅgams also of stone. Utensils used during the rituals of the deities were also found in this group (Godakumbura 1961:76).

Nevertheless, the study of the existing Cōḷa Temples and the Bronzes undoubtedly shows the great excellence and perfection attained during the period of Cōḷa rule as in the mainland. Referring to the Bronzes, Bell (1908:17-18) opined that these were doubtless cast in India; while, Godakumbura (1961) felt that native craftsmen were employed by the Cōḷa conquerors for their works. On the other hand, Paranavitane (1973:79) observed that "no monuments in the Sinhalese Architecture were raised in Ceylon under the regime of the Cōḷas. Sinhalese sculptors and painters had no opportunity to practise their arts, for their patrons -- royalty, nobility and the Buddhist Church -- had ceased to exist under the Cōḷa rule. The invaders built shrines for their faith at Polonnaruwa. These are in the style of the Architecture that was in vogue in South India at the time -- a style which had developed from the earlier Buddhist Architecture of India and therefore exhibits certain features in common with that distinctive of the Sinhalese... . These Bronzes were no doubt made in South India".

Pathmanathan (1978:52) however, felt that the substantial architectural and iconographic remains of the Cōḷa period presuppose the employment of architects, sculptors and other artists taken from the Cōḷa country. Later, Sivaramamurti (1974: 372-373) while pronouncing that these Bronzes are distinct and a speciality of Sri Lanka says that 'it is not in the fashioning of these alone but in some other figures also, there is a distinctiveness noticed which should undoubtedly be pronounced as the work of Ceylonese craftsmen inspired by the craft from the mainland. There is no doubt in all these there is a certain crudeness which is offset by the freshness of approach and independent treatment to an extent'. Citing an example from the *jaṭas* of Naṭarāja, he notes how meticulously the artist had followed the ethos of *Tēvāram* and concluded by saying that "Ceylonese contribution to the study of Naṭarāja

form has in quality far exceeded the quantity obtained by excavation or discovery".

Whatever be the view of the scholars, at least one thing is certain. Hindu Art demands a long period of training in *śilpa-śāstras* and a thorough knowledge of the religion as such. Hence it may not be possible for a person, who is alièn to the tradition, to become a master in a matter of a few years, to the extent of creating Bronzes of quality *par excellence*. It is very likely that like the other forms of Cōḻa government a school of Cōḻa artists also would have been established in the main Hindu centres of the Island and the indigenous artists (both Hindus and the Buddhists) would have assisted the chief artists of the Cōḻa school in the creation of the structures and the icons. This probably accounts for the distinctiveness of the Sri Lanka Bronzes. Even though the Cōḻas had left the country, their art forms continued to influence the succeeding period. The heavy infiltration of the Drāvidian art forms during the Polonnaruwa period (1000-1250), unlike the earlier Anuradhapura period, made the art of Polonnaruwa close to the Drāvidian art. This accounts for the similarity between the Cōḻa art and the later Polonnaruwa art. This similarity is in no way due to the common origin of Buddhist and Hindu art as Paranavitane suggested.

Many inscriptions belonging to the reigns of Rājarāja I (A.D.985-1016) Rājēndra I (A.D.1014-1044) Rājēndra II (A.D.1051-1063) and Adhirājēndra (A.D.1067-1070) have been found in the various parts of the Island. The study of the inscriptions shows that like the Cōḻa art, the Temple organisation too was modelled on lines similar to those of the mainland. They in fact suggest the prevalence of the custom of naming Temples after royalties. The Vāṉavaṉmādēvi-Īśvaram at Polonnaruwa, the Rājarāja-Īśvaram at Matota, the Uttama-Cōḻa-Īśvaram at Medirigiriya and Iravikula-māṇikka-Īśvaram at Padaviya are some of the examples. There was also a custom of erecting *Paḷḷippaḍai* Temples in Sri Lanka as in the case of the Cōḻa country. Bell (1908:7) in the course of his excavations in Śiva *Devale* 5, discovered eight pots containing human bones. These were exhumed along the walls both inside and out of the *mahāmaṇḍapam*. However, the perusal of South Indian records shows that it was in vogue in Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya times (Srinivasan 1968:3-9).

An inscription from Vāṉavaṉmādēvi-Īśvaram throws welcome light on the organisation of the Temples in Sri Lanka during the Cōḻa times. It mentions an endowment made by the Cōḻa Pallavarāyaṉ a dignitary of high rank who endowed the Temple with a lamp and five gold coins. This perpetual lamp had to be maintained on the interest of the money deposited. In this inscription, several functionaries without any social distinction whatsoever are mentioned and they are bound and held responsible for the upkeep of the lamp. The names of such individuals are Patipādamūleppattutai Panchachariya, Devakarmi Karamavittaṉ, Śiva -Brāhmaṇas, Panmaheśvarar, Parisarakar, Dēvaradiyār and the Temple drummer. For want of space a discussion of the functionaries is avoided here, although the occurrence of similar names in the Cōḻa records of Tamil Nadu shows

that in Sri Lanka too, like the Cōḷa Temples of South India, this Temple was properly endowed and managed. This further shows that this type of Temple organisation would have been in vogue in the other Temples of the Cōḷa times in Sri Lanka, although at present we do not have sufficient evidence (Gunasingam 1978/79).

In the inscription of Rājarāja I at Paḍaviya found in the Śiva *Devale* 1, the names of sixteen donors and the gifts are recorded. The gifts included several lamps, bells, gold and cattle (Indrapala 1971:32-36). The titles preceding their names such as *Uṭaiyaṉ* 'Possessor of a village', *Kantaṉ* 'Warrior', *Nānātēciyaṉ* 'Member of a wellknown *Nāndēsi* mercantile group' suggest that there were Cōḷa officials, soldiers and traders who were stationed at Paḍaviya and patronised this Temple (Śiva *Devale* I). Inscriptions mentioning the founders of these Śiva Temples at Paḍaviya, give a clue to the nature of their profession and the religious atmosphere of the time. Names such as *vattumaṉ, tēci, cēti, vaṇikam* clearly show that the traders patronised this Temple. This is further confirmed by the discovery of two inscriptions of the mercantile corporation of *ticcai-āyirattunaiññūṟṟuvar* here. Moreover, the occurrence of the names such as Nārāyaṇaṉ, Varataṉ Tirumāl and Aḻakaṉ clearly shows that either the people of Śaiva faith bore the names of Vaiṣṇava faith or they were Vaiṣṇavites who patronised Śiva Temples. It is reasonable to presume that there was hardly any antagonism between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths during this time (Veluppillai 1972:23-31). Veluppillai also draws attention to one of the donatory inscriptions where the father was of Vaiṣṇava faith (Nārāyaṇa) and the son of Śaiva faith (Tiruciṟṟampalamutaiyār). This cordiality is further confirmed by the existence of Vaiṣṇava Temples in close proximity to the Hindu *Devales*, and the presence of Vaiṣṇava images in the Śaiva groups of images. The Paḍaviya inscription also finally draws our attention to the worship of the footprint of Śiva here. This in turn suggests that although Vaiṣṇavites had a long tradition of this kind of worship and later Buddhists had borrowed this practice from them now this had cropped up into Śaivism as well during this period probably due to Vaiṣṇava influence.

The inscription from Atakada records an endowment to the Śiva Temple here. The first part mentions a grant of three *vēlis* of land but the purpose of the grant is not specified. The second part of the grant consisted of twenty cows for a perpetual lamp *(nantā-viḷakku)*. The final part mentions the grant of fifty coconut trees for maintaining five twilight lamps *(canti-viḷakku)* (Veluppillai 1971. 1:20). The Medirigiriya inscription mentions a grant of twenty six cows for maintaining a perpetual lamp to the Lord Pandita-Cōḷa-Īśvaram. This grant was made by Araṅkaṉ Rameśaṉ in the name of his son Nārāyaṇaṉ (Indrapala 1971: 25-28).

Taḷikkumaraṉ, a Cōḷa dignitary is mentioned in an inscription at Matota as having made provisions for the maintenance of the Temple Rājarājeśvaram at Matota (Pathmanathan 1976:59-70). The endowments consisting of lands and revenues of government were made by him to the Temple for the purposes of conducting religious services and

rituals daily and festivals and the water cutting ceremony during the seven days of *Visakham* in the month of *Vaikāci* (May-June) annually. The revenues given over to the Temple included a tax on all the looms at the rate of a quarter an *akkam* on each loom for a month, tolls on all pathways and ferries leading to the *Arulmolittēva Valanātu* and the taxes on all the commercial transactions at the rate of an *Vaddam* on each *Kāsu* from the buyers and sellers of commodities. There is also provision made in the inscription for the sacred offerings. It was two *nālis* of rice per time and six *nalis* of rice per day. Two Brāhmaṇas who worshipped there were given eight *nālis* of rice daily (Veluppillai 1972.11:42-55). A portion of the income was also used for the maintenance of a *maṭam*, a charitable institution for the pilgrims.

Rāja-rājeśvaram, is perhaps the only Temple in Sri Lanka which is known to have been maintained with government revenues. That Rājarājeśvaram enjoyed the support and patronage of the Cōḷa government is evident from the transfer of governmental revenues to the Temple (Pathmanathan 1976:59-70). Like Polonnaruwa being re-named as Jananathamangalam, Matota too was re-named Rājarājapuram. So was Medirigiriya re-named as Nittavinōta-puram (Skt.Nitya-Vinoda-pura) after Rājarāja I. Another inscription from the same site (Matotam) mentions a certain Tēvaṉ who was in the service of Rājēndra I and had made a gift of four gold coins for burning the lamp daily at this shrine. Two of the coins were deposited with the *Caṅkarapaḍiyār* living in Matotam. The third and the fourth coins were deposited with the *Valaikkāy Vāṇiyar* and *Veṭṭilai Vāṇiyar* respectively (Pathmanathan 1976:59-70).

As noticed earlier in the eastern part of Sri Lanka, the famous Hindu shrine at Trincomalee is referred to in the Cōḷa inscriptions found at Nilaveli and Maṉaṅkēṇi as Machchakeśvaram. The epigraph found at Nilaveli records a grant of 250 *vēli* of irrigable and non-irrigable lands to the Temple (Gunasingham 1975:10). However, the most important evidence comes from Kantalai (Gunasingham 1974:15-16). The epigraph is dated in the reign of a Cola prince called *Ilaṅkeśvaradeva*. It does mention about a *brahmadēya* settlement and Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam in the 11th century A.D. There is evidence to say that this Brāhmaṇical settlement continued to exist even after the end of the Cōḷa rule right up to the end of the 12th century A.D. Moreover, as usual with such settlements in South India it had an organisation of its own for the regulation of its afairs for we are told that *Peruṅguḍi Perumakkaḷ* 'the great people of the great assembly' functioned at Kantalai. This not only indicates the presence of a substantial number of Brāhmaṇiçal population at Kantalai (probably in other places too where Cōḷa Temples were situated) but also shows that the number of religious institutions set up by the Cōlas of such magnitude as to need the services of a large number of Brāhmaṇas.

Thus the above survey clearly indicates that the Hindu religion and institutions of Sri Lanka were at their heyday as in the case of the mainland. This position they had not attained hitherto in Sri

Lanka. The Cōḷa Temple architecture and sculpture doubtless had their origin from the Cōḷa mainland. However, the distinctiveness of the Cōḷa art of Sri Lanka from that of the mainland again shows the fusion of Indian and indigenous traditions in Sri Lanka, which ultimately paved the way for the predominant influence of Drāviḍian art forms on the Polonnaruwa art inclusive of Buddhist art. References in the inscriptions also show the nature of donations to the Temples, the Temple functionaries, and the Temple organisation which again was a replica of that which obtained on the mainland. That the Temples were patronised by the Royalty, Bureaucracy, Military officials and the Trading Guilds of the time is also evident from our survey. The Sri Lankan evidence suggests that although Saivism was predominant, yet it co-existed with other Hindu sects without any animosity. This again reflects the nature of religious tolerance of the time in Sri Lanka.

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Tamil Civilization
Vol.3 No.2&3

THE ROLE OF WAR-TROPHIES IN CULTURAL CONTACT

D.Dayalan

It was a long and deep rooted tradition that the victorious king, after the conquest of the enemy country, brought some rare objects and treasures on return as a war-trophy to symbolize his triumphant expedition. Verse 149 of *Ahanāṉūṟu*, an early anthology of Śaṅgam classics, speaks about the custom of bringing war-trophies like icons from the defeated countries.* Siṟut-toṇḍar also known as Parañjōti, the general of the Pallava king Nara-Siṁhavarmaṉ I, is mentioned to have carried home as a war-trophy, an idol of Gaṇapati, from Vātāpi, a prominent centre of Gaṇapati cult, to his home town of Tiruchcheṅ-gāṭṭaṅguḍi in Thanjavur District and installed it there.

Though the kings were thirsty of proving their valour in the battle field, they also appreciated and admired the splendid creative beauty of art and architecture. Vikramāditya, the Cāḷukya king, came to the Pallava capital Kāñcipuram with the aim of destroying it to avenge the catas-trophe caused by Narasiṁhavarmaṉ in Vātāpi. But the dreamy creation of the Kailāsanātha temple so capti-vated the appreciation and admiration of the victorious king, that he aban-doned his idea of spoiling the city of Kāñcipuram.

The kings of the Cōḻa dynasty, whose fame echoed in various direct-ions and even beyond the seas, were the greatest in their military triumph, organisation of the empire and patro-nage of art and literature. A large number of magnificent monuments studded all over Tamil Nadu and in the neighbouring states like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka and also in Sri Lanka beyond the sea, illustrate their taste for art and religion. They were constantly engaged in wars with the Cāḷukyas, Nuḷambas, Pāṇḍyas, Cēras and the Sinhalese dynasties and also occasionally with the Kaliṅga, Pāla and other north Indian dynasties. Rājēndra Cōḻa made Kaḍāram (Sri Vijaya) to bow before his naval power. Following the tradition of their predecessors, the Cōḻas were also fond of acquiring war-trophies from the defeated Sinhala chronicle mentions that gold images were carried away from Sri Lanka along with other booty by Rājēndra I Inscriptions also give a vivid description of the war-trophies of the Cōḻas. An inscription from Tiruppalanam (*ARE* 1928:135) says that Kambaṉ Maṇiyaṉ alias Vikramasiṅga Mūvēnda vēḷāṉ an army commander of Rājēndra I got the icon of Maragadhadēvar, besides a number of icons brought

**aruncāman katantu patimam vavviya ...ceḻiyaṉ.*

as war-trophy by the king from Cēra country and installed in the local Śiva temple. There are some stone and bronze sculptures of the Cāḷukya, Nuḷamba, Pāla and Kaliṅga origin found in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam to aid us in the study of the war-trophies of the Cōḷas.

The Sculptures of the Cāḷukya Origin

The later Cālukyas, who ruled for nearly two hundred years (A.D.973-1198) with Kalyāṇa as their capital, were renowned builders of temples and erected hundreds of temples in the Districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Bidar, Raichur, Dharwar and Gulbarga. Of the temples of this period, the Kāshivishveshwara temple at Lakkuṇḍi, Doddabasappa temple at Dambal, Mallikārjuna temple at Kuruvatti, Someśwara temple at Haralhalli and Tripurāntakeshwara temple at Belligavi are particularly noteworthy. The constructions of this period were made out of soft chlorite, schist stone.

"Plumpness of the body, intricate detailed ornamentation, which increased to such as extent that main figures and motifs were almost drowned in decoration. The trelliswork seen in perforated lithic screens, minutely carved with patterns and scrolls entwining animals and birds"--are the typical features of the sculptural art of the later Cāḷukyas (Sivaramamurthi 1977:223-24).

The Cōḷa Cālukya feud was initiated by Tailapa II himself and was continued by his successors for more than a century. Rājarāja I was said to have made in roads into the Cāḷukyan territory, vanquished his Cāḷukyan counterpart Satyasraya (A.D.997-1008) and returned to his capital with some booty of gold flowers, which he dedicated to the god of Thanjavur. Rājēndra I resumed the war against the western Cāḷukya power and claimed to have defeated Jayasiṁha at Musaṅgi. He also plundered Dorasamudra (modern Halebid in Mysore) and Beleyavattara, modern Beliapatnam in Malabar and the country of the Malepas. Following the footsteps of their father and grand-father, Rājādhirāja, Rājēndra II and Vīra Rājēndra waged incessant war with the Cālukyas. Rājādhirāja sacked the Cāḷukya capital Kalyāṇapuram and assumed the title 'Vijayarājēndra' there. The titles of Rājādhirāja like Āhavamalla-Kulāntaka, Kalāyanapuram - koṇda - Cōḷa, also attest to the above fact. Vīrarājēndra was supposed to have defeated Āhavamalla five times and bore the title, "Āhavamallaṇai Aimaḍi Venkaṇda Rājasēkaraṉ". Kulōttuṅga I and his successors also waged war with the Cāḷukyas. The Cōḷa-Cālukya wars were mostly raids in nature, without any permanent territorial expansion.

There are nearly eight sculptures of Cāḷukya origin found at various places in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam.

There is a unique beautiful sculpture of Subrahmaṇya-Devasena of Cāḷukya origin datable to 10th century, now housed in the Kailāsanātha temple at Trailoki in Thanjavur District (Nagaswamy, 1978:176-77). This was probably acquired by Rājēndra I after his raid in the Cāḷukyan territory, as a part of his Gangetic expedition. An inscription of the Kailāsanātha temple attests to the fact that Rājēndra Cōḷa after his epoch-making expedition to the Gangetic plains visited Trailoki

on his way back to his capital Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷapuram.

Subrahmaṇya and Devasena are shown in this sculpture as embracing each other. They are flanked on either side by *cāmara* bearers, a feature which is not associated with the deities of the Hindu pantheon in Tamil Nadu. The execution of the ornaments, hair-dresses and the stylistic nature of the face and the body proportion--all authenticate the Cāḷukyan - workmanship of this sculpture. This sculpture is crowned by an elaborately ornamented *makara toraṇa*.

Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram, the pompous capital built by Rājēndra I to celebrate his victory over the Gangetic plains, is a veritable emporium of colourful varieties of sculptures, both indigenous and foreign. An outstanding creation of the *Navagraha* sculpture of Cāḷukyan origin found in the temple here is fashioned in the form of a blossoming lotus and has the depiction of the planets on it in a miniature form. Unlike the southern iconographic forms, the planets like Aṅgāraka, Budha, Brihaspati and Sani have each a single pair of arms only. The depiction of Surya, found very close to the *Navagraha* slab, with top boots, armour and other details proclaim in unison its exotic craftsmanship, particularly from the Cāḷukyan area.

The conventional way of depicting Mahishamardinī-Durgā in Tamil Nadu is the standing posture with her feet planted on the severed head of the buffalo-demon, Mahisha. But in the Cāḷukyan and the Nuḷamba areas, she is represented with her knee planted firmly on the back of the buffalo, piercing the buffalo with her trident. There are found three such types of Durgā of Cāḷukyan origin in Gaṅgai - koṇda - Cōḷapuram itself (Nagaswamy 1970:59-61). One near the *Navagraha* slab in the temple, second in the shrine of Durgā to the north of the temple and the third in the Veera-reddi street.

There is a sculptured figure of Ganeśa, found in Gaṅgaikoṇda Cōḷapuram, which also shows Cāḷukyan workmanship. An authentic evidence of the war-trophy of the Cōḷas is the *Dvārapāla*, now installed in the Thanjavur art gallery. This was brought as a trophy by Rājādhirāja I after the sack of the Cāḷukyan capital Kalyāṇapuram. The inscription on it says "The door-keeper brought by Udaiyār Śrī Vijayarājēndra - deva after burning Kalyāṇapuram" (Sastri, 1975, p.255).

Nuḷamba Sculptures

The Nuḷambas ruled over an important portion of the Cālukyan realm, for nearly three centuries from A.D.790, with Hemavati as their capital. They were feudatories at one time or another of the western Gaṅgas, western Cāḷukyas, Rashtrakūṭas and the Cōḷas, yet they maintained their individuality in art, with slight leaning towards the Cāḷukyan style.

They constructed many imposing temples in a shining greenish blue stone. Of the temples of this period, Mallikārjuna temple at Hemavati, Bhoganandīśwara and Arunachaleśwara temple at Nandi and the Kalleśwara temple at Aralaguppe are particularly noteworthy. Burnished and mirror-like pillars, ornamented lattice windows and elaborately decorated ceilings are the characteristic features of

the Nuḷamba architecture. Rājēndra I very much attracted by the exquisite skill of the Nuḷamba sculpture, brought a row of elegantly carved pillars from the *mandapa* of the Mallikārjuna temple at Hemavati and set up around the central shrine of Apparswāmi at Tiruvaiyar, Thanjavur District (Sivaramamurthi 1977: 223-24). Exquisitely carved perforated window with celestial musical pairs also from Hemavati was taken to the Big temple, Thanjavur as a war trophy by the Cōḷas. The other Nuḷamba sculptures found in the Cōḷa territory are Mahishamardinī Durgā in Maṇmēḍu, a part of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram and another similar figure in the Vīraṭṭaneśwara temple at Tiruvadigai (Nagaswamy, 1982; 1978: 150-51). Umamaheśwara seated on a recumbent Bull at Trailoki in Thanjavur District (*Ibid*, 1978:176-77) and the Śiva-Pārvati sculpture now housed in the newly formed Rājarājan Museum, brought from Tiruchoṟṟutuṟai also in Thanjavur District are the other striking examples showing Nuḷamba affinity.

Pāla Sculptures And Bronze

The kings of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal were also found of art and developed both Hindu and Buddist art. Lacking sufficient rock in Bengal, the Palas developed the tradition of terra cotta monuments and bronze icons. Siddheśwara temple at Baṅkura, is the best example, showing their skill in the terra cotta work. Rājarāja I initiated the Eastern campaign beyond Andhra Pradesh, by sending his son Rājēndra I to wage battle in Kaliṅga and to erect a pillar on the Mahendra hill to commemorate his victory. As a worthy son of a worthy father, Rājēndra I went during his reign upto the Gaṅga, defeated all the kings who opposed his expedition, including Mahipāla, the contemporary Pāla king, and brought Gaṅga water to his capital, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram.

It is said that on his way back to his capital he visited the Nāgeśwara Swāmi temple at Kuṁbhakōnam and installed in front of it a Ganeśa figure collected from the Pāla area as a war-trophy. Presently it is called "Gaṅgai Koṇḍa Cōḷa Viṇāyagar". This Ganeśa sculpture is so beautiful, in which the sculptor has realised his dream. It is probably carved out of black Chlorite, the rock generally used for making most of the stone sculptures in Bengal. This particular type of rock takes good polishing, that is why it is shining like an amalgam of emerald and sapphire. The god is four-armed. The upper left arm holds sweet balls in a vessel. The lower left arm is placed on the handle of a *paraśu*, resting on the pedestal. The upper right arm holds the broken tusk, whereas the lower right arm holds rosary. He wears *jaṭāmakuṭa*, a typical crown of Ganeśa in the north, showing its affinity with the other Gaṇeśas in the Pāla region. The trunk is turned to the left and placed on the sweets. On stylistic grounds this can be dated to 10-11th century A.D. This sculpture also served as a model for the 12th century Bronze Gaṇeśa, now preserved in the Siva temple at Thiruvāṇaikkāval, in Tiruchirāppaḷḷi District.

An exquisite Bronze of Śiva with ten arms, dancing on the bull as Narteśwara, found at Mēlakkaḍambūr in Thanjavur District is definetely of Pāla origin (Sivaramamurthi 1963). It marks the creative climax of the tenth century. This is the only

known specimen of this form in metal. But a parallel representation in stone is noticed at Sankarbandha, now sheltered in the Dacca Museum (in which Śiva is dancing on the bull while Gaṅga and Uma wave the cāmara). Śiva dancing on the bull, the characteristic feature of Bengal, is interpreted as trampling desire and ego symbolised by the bull. It is the dwarf that occurs in the South, below the foot of the Divine Dancer, replacing the bull of the northern counterpart.

The characteristic feature of the Pāla school of art like the slender body-type with flexions extended to the utmost limit, bends employed to their last possibilities, blossomed flower-like face but a bit longish, out-turned lips, raised eyebrows, bulging and open eyes and the prominent nipples are all shown in the Narteśwara bronze at Mēlakkaḍambūr. The erect male organ of Narteśwara, noticed in both the above said specimens shows the influence of the Tantric ideas in Bengal in the 10th century.

There are three sculptures two representing Śiva as Bhairava, and the third representing Bhairavī, found very close to Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḻapuram (Nagaswamy 1982:186) identified as Kaliṅga specimens on the basis of the stylistic features and also of their raw material known as Kondalite, the rock mostly used for the construction of all the Bhuvaneswar temples. (The contemporary ruling dynasty in Kalinga was the Somavamsi Dynasty. They were great builders of temples and patrons of art. This age witnessed the construction of great temples like the Liṅgarāja temple in Orissa).

The sculptures brought from the other states are all associated with Śaivism in keeping with the Cōḻa rulers' staunch devotion to Śaivism. The conquest of various territories by the Cōḻas is reflected in the art tradition, which has the fusion of ideals and traditions of the different territories.

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JAINISM IN KERALA AND ITS CONTACTS WITH TAMILNADU

M.R.Raghava Variar.

The earlier centres of Jainism in Kerala are situated in places which are contiguous to Tamilnadu and Karnataka. The adjoining parts of Tamilnadu like the Districts of Coimbatore, Madurai and Tirunelveli in the east and south-east are rich in Jaina antiquities. Some of the Jain caves found in these places are attributed to the early centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier, on the basis of the palaeography of the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions. In the north-east, the District of Coorg has several Jain centres. Beyond that, the Karnataka region abounds in Jaina relics and monuments. Sravana belgola probably the most famous among these centres is cherished in the legendary accounts of the southern expedition of Chandragupta Maurya. Thus, the antiquity of Jainism in the neighbouring states of Tamilnadu and Karnataka is traced back even to the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era. However, the archaeological and epigraphical evidences of the centres of Jainism in Kerala belong to the 9th, & 10th centuries of the Christian era, though earlier contacts of Jains with these centres cannot be ruled out. In this paper, which is mainly based on epigraphical sources, an attempt has been made to provide a rapid survey of the prominent medieval Jaina pockets in Kerala and to find out their connections with the Jaina centres of Tamilnadu.

Tiruccāṇattumalai, or more correctly, Tiruccāraṇattumalai (hereafter T.Malai), in the Vilavankod Taluk, Trivandrum District, was perhaps the most famous among the earlier Jaina centres in Kerala. This is a medieval site consisting of a cave temple as well as a structural shrine with Jaina figures of Tīrthaṅkaras and Yakṣis.[1] While editing an inscription of this place executed in the 28th regnal year of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, T.A.Gopinatha Rao suggested that 'the place seems to have been sufficiently famous in earlier times as to attract Jains from such distant places as Tirunaruṅgoṉṟai in Tirukkōyilūr Taluk, South Arcot district' (*TAS*, II, p.194). This suggestion is based on an epigraph at Tiruccāraṇattumalai which shows that the image under which the inscription is seen was caused to be carved by the teacher Vīranandi Aḍigaḷ of Mēlaippaḷḷi monastery at Tirunaruṅgoṉṟai. Even to this day Tirunaruṅgoṉṟai is an important pilgrimage centre of the Jains. Epigraphic evidence proves that two monasteries, i.e. Mēlaippaḷḷi and Kīḻaippaḷḷi, flourished at Tirunaruṅgoṉṟai in the nineth

century A.D. (Krishnan 1957). Gunabhadra, the founder of Vīrasaṅgha, who was a famous scholar in both Sanskrit and Tamil, belonged to this place (Desai 1957:96).

Tiruccāṇattumalai attracted Jaina monks, nuns, preceptors and pilgrims not only from Tirunaruṅgoṇrai, but from several other places also. The record of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa mentioned earlier, says that Guṇandāṅgikurattiār, a desciple of Arattanemi Bhaṭārar of Pērāyakkuṭi offered an *aravikkaṭṭa,* for which she gave 15 *Kalañjus* of gold (*TAS*, II; p.126).

Uttanandi Aḍigal, who belonged to Tiruneḍumporai Kāṭṭampaḷḷi, caused an image to be made at T.Malai (*Ibid*). P.B.Desai has shown that there were many places bearing the name Kurandi having Jaina shrines called Kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi (Desai 1957:50 n.2). Tiruneḍumporai is yet to be identified.

One of the most interesting inscriptions of T.Malai is the one which records that the preceptor Ajjananti caused an image to be carved here.[2] Ajjanandi, who has been described by P.B.Desai as a revivalist, was a famous personality among Jains in medieval Tamilnadu, especially in the Madurai region. He figures as the person who was responsible for carving of the sculptures at Vaḷḷimalai in N.Arcot District and at Āṇaimalai, Aivarmalai, Aḷagarmalai, Karungālakkuḍi and Uttamapāḷayam in Madurai District (*ARE* 1906). Further south he figures at Iraṭṭaipottai rock in Eruvādi in Tirunelveli District (*ARE* 1916). From these, it has been suggested that the Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts were the main spheres of the revivalistic activities of Ajjananti (Desai 1957:62-63).

Monks and nuns from other Jaina Centres in South India visited T.Malai and donated objects of worship. Similarly, the preceptors of T.Malai visited other Jain Centres outside Kerala and paid homages. Tiruccāraṇattu Kurattikal figures in three epigraphs (*SII*, V 321, 324, 326) at Kalugumalai in Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluk, Tirunelveli District. The name of the Kurattikal is not given but one of the records says that a certain image was caused to be carved by Tiruccāranattukurattikal who was the disciple of Miḷalūr Kurattikal. Another record states that an image was donated by Tiruccāraṇattukurattikal for the benefit of Saḍaiyan Koṟṟi of Kōṭṭūr-nāḍu. The third one informs us that the image was set up by Tiruccāraṇattukurattikal for the benefit of Kūttan Kāman of Perumbaṟṟūr in Kōṭṭūr-nāḍu.

From the above survey we are given to understand that T.Malai was a famous centre of both pilgrimage and learning. There were teachers, both male and female, who taught students coming from distant places. From the very nomenclature, it is clear that this place has some connection with the Jain concept of *Cāraṇas*. According to the Jaina mythology the *Cāraṇas* were a class of itinerant monks who possessed supernatural powers. There are several places in South India which are believed to have been frequented by *Cāraṇas*. The emergence of T.Malai as a Jaina Centre was perhaps an indication of the popularity of the concept of *Cāraṇa* beings and the mythical beliefs connected with the same.

The religious aspects apart,

the strategical position of Tiruccāraṇattumalai can be considered as a cause of its importance. It is on the west of the Aramboli pass which served as a high way of commerce and travel between Travancore in the west and the plains of Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts on the eastern side of the western ghats. Scholars have observed the importance of this route. At this place a distinct break in the chain of hills has left a gap of three miles wide through which ran the perfectly level trunk road of communication.[3] T. Malai is on this route which leads to the famous medieval ports of Pūvār and Viḻiñam on the Western Coast. These ports were under the Āy rulers who were feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas.

From the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions in the Jaina Caves in the Pudukkōṭṭai, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts it can be correctly assumed that they were prominent centres of Jainism in Tamilnadu.[4] As has been recently postulated by some scholars, these centres tended to be established in areas of commercial importance, and that the location of the records on the east cost might 'indicate portions of an old trade route' (Abraham 1978:29).

From the Tirunelveli region, the Aramboli pass gives an easier route to the Western ports like Pūvār and Viḻiñam which could replace the roundabout way of the Trans-coastal route. This could partly explain the importance of a place like Tiruccāraṇattumalai on the way to the Western Coastal regions.

The emergence and growth of the Jaina religious centre at Tiruccāṇattumalai can also be explained as a territorial expansion of the Jaina order which converged in the Madurai and Tirunelveli regions. We may also surmise that this expansion could be traced by a conjectural transpeninsular trade route which connected the eastern and western coasts passing through the Aramboli pass. The exact date of this religious expansion is not known. The epigraphic records suggesting a connection of Tiruccāṇattumalai with other centres in Tamilnadu are attributed to the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. This connection indicates that the place had become an important link in the 'religious network' of Jains in Medieval South India. It has been observed that by the time of the 8th-9th centuries A.D., the Jain Church in South India had become a well knit organisation with several centres of pilgrimage (Champakalakshmi 1978). Tiruccāṇattumalai records are silent about any other centre in Kerala and from this it can be inferred that the relations of this place were mainly with the centres in Tamilnadu, particularly those in the Madurai and Tirunelveli regions. The presence of pilgrim-saints like Ajjanandi, Vīranandi and Uttanandi as well as their activities would indicate that the place was under the sway of the Jaina revivalistic movements. It appears that monks and nuns travelled from place to place in the countryside propagating the messages of their salvation religion. It may be noted in this connection that this was the period of the *Stotra* literature in South Indian Jainism. The devotional compositions in other South Indian languages like the *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa and *Jvālini Stotra* of Indranandi Yogīśvara are attributed to this period.[5] In fact, the *Stotra* literature and the devotional poems probably became the Jaina counterpart of the Tamil *Bhakti* hymns which

served as a powerful medium in the hands of the Tamil Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite Saints to propagate the message of devotionalism. It seems that the revivalistic activities of the Jains in Medieval South India mainly consisted of the pilgrimage and the popular cults and practices like the worship of mother goddess etc. It has been pointed out earlier that Ajjanandi was responsible for carving some sculptures of the Yakṣi Ambika, the attendant goddess of Nemināta Tīrthaṅkara. As the name suggests this Yakṣi must have absorbed some old Amman Mother Goddess of the Tamil people (Variar 1980:29). A scholar recently observed that in historical analysis the Mother Goddess of the later period has been taken to be of 'mixed conceptions' and that their origin is to be sought in the substratum of similar cults. "The fact was that the centres of Buddhists and Jains although they were deeply influenced by the ethical values upheld by those systems, had not entirely given up their traditional faiths and cults" (Bhattacharya 1977:111). Carving of idols of deities and composing of hymns about gods and goddesses may acquire special meaning when they are examined in the light of the popular cult practices. Apart from this, the Jaina saints set up the images of their preceptors and other famous saints probably in order to associate those centres with the charismatic personalities of those figures. This phase of the medieval Jaina movement is well expressed in the relics at Tiruccanattumalai.

Kallil Jain Cave temple is about 200 km. north of Chitral. No written document has been yielded by this place. This is situated near Trikkariyūr, a traditional Brāhmaṇa centre, famous in legends which preserve the memory of a victory of Brāhmaṇa over the *Bauddhas*. Kallil is on the way from Iḍikki-Muṇṇār highranges in the Western Ghats to the Western Coast through plains in north Travancore and Cochin. On the eastern side of the Ghat are the early Jain centres of Uttamapālayam and Devathūr in Madurai District. The paucity of written documents at Kallil prevents us from making any further comments on the connections of this centre with other centres in and out of Kerala. However, the sculptural evidences go to prove that they belong to the medieval phase of South Indian Jainism in which the cult of Yakṣi acquired great prominence.

The Palghat complex of Jaina centres comprised of Jainamēḍu in the vicinity of the Palghat town, Īśvarankoṭṭa near Koṅgad, three miles away from the Jainamēḍu temple, Paruvassēri on the way from Palghat to Trichur and Kavassēri in Alattur Taluk, Palghat District. Among these, only the Kavassēri temple has yielded a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription along with some Jaina figures.[6]

At Jainamēḍu, there are a few Jain families of priests and a Jain temple with a good number of icons of Tīrthaṅkaras and the attendant deities. According to tradition the new *basti* at Jainamēḍu is built on the ruins of an earlier Jain temple which had left behind several icons along with parts of a structural building like granite pillars and beams. The unicellared Īśvarankoṭṭa temple has a unique image of a Tīrthaṅkara depicted as meditating under a tree, possibly *Aśoka*. It has been suggested by scholars that this may be identified with the *Ārhaṭ* principle in general

without reference to any particular Tīrthaṅkara (*ARE* 1936-37, p.68). Desai thinks that the Jains in Tamilnadu were fond of emphasising this emblem of the Jinas. He adds that references to the Jaina divinity in association with the *Aśoka* tree are met with in *Cilappatikāram*. In *Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam*, a Kannada work of the 10th century A.D., the *Aśoka* tree figures as a prominent symbol of Adijimendra (Desai 1957:50 n.1).[7] Paḷḷi Bhagavatī temple at Paruvassēri on the Palghat-Trichur route was a Jaina shrine and now it is converted into a Hindu temple.[8] That this was a Jaina temple is clear from the presence of an image of Chandraprabha Tīrthaṅkara with the triple umbrella and the characteristic cognizance of the crescent on the *pītha*. This image is now placed in a roofless enclosure outside the central shrine and is worshipped as Sāsta. The relics from the Jain temple site at Kavassēri mentioned above consist of an inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of circa 10th century mentioning bodies of *Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravar* and *vaḷañjiyar* and some idols and parts of a granite structure.

These centres in and around Palghat show that this area was occupied by a group of Jains. There is no conclusive evidence to fix the date of these centres. It would not be out of place to show the importance of the Palghat 'gap' for trade and commerce as well as cultural contacts with Tamilnadu. There is an easy transpeninsular route from the Coimbatore and Madurai regions to the Western Coast passing through this gap in establishing political, economical and cultural contacts. The existence of an old trade route has been postulated also on the basis of evidence supplied by the Roman coins, particularly hoards belonging to the 1st century A.D., obtained from various places on either sides of the gap (Variar 1980:35 n.49). This highway must have provided a useful alternative to the longer coastwise route between Kerala and the Coromandal Coast. It is interesting to note that the period of the Roman coins coincides roughly with the time of the *Brahmi* labels of South Indian Caves. A tentative trade route has been envisaged which ran to Pudukkōṭṭai area, crossing the Districts of Coimbatore and passing through Dindigul and Palani. It has also been suggested that the route passing through the Sheṅgōṭṭai pass would converge around the Pudukkōṭṭai tract which was an important Jaina Centre, and this tract was linked with the highway coming through the Palghat gap. In Kerala the route connects the grain producing areas of Palghat District with the Western Coastal tract. Sundaramūrti Nāyaṉār and Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār who visited together the important Saiva shrines of South India probably chose this ancient route to cross the Koṅgu region. However, the available sources pertaining to the study of Jainism in Kerala do not supply any direct evidence to postulate contacts between the Jains of Palghat complex and those on the eastern side of this gap. Nevertheless, a body called Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravar figuring in the Alatur Jain inscription points to a tentative connection with Tamilnadu. This body of Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravar finds mention in another Jain epigraph of c.ninth century discovered at Pulpalli in South Wynad also (Narayanan 1972:69-70). This area is contiguous to the Coorg area in the northeast and the Koṅgu region in the southeast and it has been

pointed out on epigraphical basis that the river Kabbani, rising in the Western ghats and flowing eastwards could be utilised as a trade route between the ghat region and the areas of South Karnataka and Kongu country (Abraham 1978:38). The geographical positions of the epigraphs in Kerala referring to the body of Nārpattenyiravar occurs in several inscriptions found only in the Districts of Tiruchirāppaḷḷi, Rāmanāthapuram, North Arcot and Chingleput. The body appears in various capacities in records from the 9th century to the 13th century A.D. spanning a period of about four centuries. It may be suggested that the main sphere of its activities was confined to the above mentioned regions of Tamilnadu (Variar 1980:77-86).

The above description gives us a somewhat clear picture of the Jain centres in medieval Kerala which had contacts with those in Tamilnadu. In the case of the southernmost temple at Tiruccāṇattumalai, mutual connections with the centres in the Districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli are explicitly mentioned in the epigrapnical sources from both sides. These religious contacts can be described as a part of the Jaina movements in medieval South India which fostered the idea of *Bhakti* devotionalism. It may also be observed that these southern centres of Jainism were links in a religious network of revivalistic character. It seems that at least some of them like the one at Tiruccāṇattumalai involved in economic activities such as investing gold in profitable transactions. In the light of this evidence, the geographical position of this centre on the highway passing through the Aramboli pass appears to be significant.

The centres in the Palghat District like Alattur and those in the Wynad region like Talekkavu have yielded only an indirect evidence to infer about the connections with the Jaina movements in Tamilnadu. This is in the form of a reference to the body of Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar. From other contemporary sources we understand that the Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar were involved in various socio-economic activities including participation in the administration of religious institutions. The main area of their activities comprised the Districts of Tiruchirappalli, Ramanathapuram, North Arcot and Chingleput.

The existence of some important ancient Jain centres on the eastern side and the early medieval centres on the western side of the Palghat gap and an early trade route suggested by hoards of Roman coins on both sides, which probably connected these areas, would indicate an expansion from the east to the west, particularly from the Coimbatore region. Further evidences are necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

NOTES

1. For a detailed description of this monument see T.A.Gopinatha Rao, *TAS*, Vol.I p.194 ff. and also *TAS*, Vol.II, pt. II, pp.125 ff.

2. Gopinatha Rao identified this figure as that of *Yakṣi* Padmāvati, *TAS*, vol. II, pt. II, p 127. P.B. Desai corrected on the basis of iconographic features and

identified the image correctly as that of Ambika, or Kusmandini. He also pointed out that the "dwarfs" standing beside the idol, left by Gopinatha Rao unidentified, as the children, the characteristic cognizance of Ambika (Desai, 1957).

3. A.S. Ramanatha Iyer (*TAS* vol. VI, pt. I) while editing the Cōḻapuram inscriptions gives a description of this pass, which formed the portals through which the Pāṇḍyas, the Cōḻas, the Vijayanagara rulers and the Nāyaks entered Kerala.

4. For a list of these records see P.B. Desai 1957, Madhavan 1966.

5. Indranandi composed the *Jvalini Stotra* in the court of the Rastrakuta King Krishṇa III in the year 939 A.D.

6. For a description and study of these remains, see, N.G.Unnithan, Relices of Jainism - Alattur, *Journal of Indian History,* XLVI, pt. II, p. 540. The inscribed stone is now placed in Kāyāmkuḷam palace museum and the images are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Trichur. See also M.G.S. Narayanan 1972 and K.G.Krishnan 1973.

7. Desai says that an inscription from Cōḻanandipuram in Tirukkoyilur Taluk, S. Arcot District indicates Tirthankara by the name *Piṇḍi Kaḍavuḷ* and in Tamil language *piṇḍi* means *Aśoka. Aśoka* is the *Kevala* treeor*Caityadruma* of Mallinatha but *Piṇḍiyan* connotes the Ārhaṭ in general.

8. Anujan Achan wrongly identified the Jain image in this temple, with a Buddhist idol. See A.Achan, 'An image of the Buddha, *Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin* vol. VI, no. 2, p. 118 and also *Annual Report of Archaeological Department of Cochin,* 1936-37 p.12 plates IV, V and VI. The present writer identified this image with Candraprabha on the basis of the *lanchana* or cognizance engraved on the pedestal.

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GOLAKI SCHOOL OF ŚAIVISM UNDER THE IMPERIAL CŌḺAS

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The Cōḻa Kings, who were unquestionably staunch Śaivites, were renowned for their sincere patronage to Śaivism. The long history of the Cōḻas bears testimony to the fact that not only the rulers but also the ruled threw their might for the growth of various schools of Śaivism. Different sects of Śaivism and their institutions, in turn, influenced the life of the Tamils during this period.

The Śaiva cult, being one of the oldest and most widely spread cults in India, had developed many sects within its fold. Several of these wielded considerable influence and enjoyed varying degrees of patronage at different periods of the history of the Tamil Country. One such sect is the Golaki school of Śaivism which wielded considerable influence and enjoyed patronage during the period of the Cōḻas. Golaki Śaivism was a major wave of the religious movement that entered the land of the Tamils at the end of the 10th century A.D. An attempt is made, in this paper, to give a history of this sect in Tamilnadu.

The advent and spread of the Golaki sect and the existence of the *maṭhas* of this school in the Tamil Country are revealed by a number of inscriptions. It will not be out of context, if a brief note is given on the history of this school of Śaivism, before its spread and influence in the Tamil Country are taken up for study. The original Golaki *maṭha* has been identified with the monastery at Bhedaghat (R.B.Hiralal 1927) on the banks of the river Narmada. Sadbhavasambhu, the author of *Somasambhu Paddhati*, a work on *Śaivagama*, was its founder. The *maṭha* derived its name Golaki from *Golagiri*, the roundish hillock over which it was constructed. Thus the original name Golagiri *maṭha* in course of time got corrupted into Golaki *maṭha (Ibid)*. By about the third quarter of the 10th century, the *maṭha* had started some branches near Kalachuri. The most important among them were situated at Gorgi and Chandrehe. The priests of this school had affiliation to the Pāśupata sect.

The Kings of Malwa, Tripuri and Warangal, who were followers of the Pāśupata sect, endowed and patronised the Golaki *maṭha*. The *maṭha* and its branches became popular because they had learned scholars as their Heads and devotees from a wide area extending from Bengal to Malabar. Īśana Śiva, Rudrasambhu, Mattamayyranātha, Hridayaśiva, Agoraśiva, Viśvesvaraśiva and others

were some of the Śivāchāryas of this school and their influence made the Golaki *matha* a popular institution of the age.

The epigraphs indicate that the Golaki line of teachers had already settled down in the Āndhra Country in the 10th century during the reign of the Nolamba Pallava King Annayadeva, ruling around Anantpur (*ARE* 1916; 759). The appearance of the Golaki line of teachers in the Tamil Country was a sequel to the conquest of the eastern part of the Kannada Country by the imperial Cōla Kings (Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I). Some followers of the sect moved into the Cōla Country and received the patronage of the rulers and the subjects. When the sect had its gradual spread throughout the land, in this period, it also received patronage in the hands of the Pāndyas of the 13th century.

Though the sect had its beginnings in the time of Rājarāja I, the existence of a regular line of teachers is distinctly noticed only from the reign of his son Rājēndra I. It is already known that Rājēndra imported Śaiva teachers from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kanchipuram and in the Cōla Country (Sastri 1955; 210). The *Lakṣadhyāyi (Bhikṣa) santāna* was the prominent lineage of this sect, the existence of which is noticed from the times of Rājēndra I and continued to flourish even in the 13th century. Other lineages of this sect were the *gñānamrtacārya santāna*, the *Nandikeśvara santāna* and the *Kilaimatha santāna*. Some preceptors of the *Lakṣādhyāyi santāna* had affiliation with the *mathas* of Varanasi in the 12th and the 13th centuries. The preceptors of the *Gñānamrtacarya santāna* had their activities mainly centering around Tiruvālīśvaram in Tirunelveli district, in the 13th century A.D. The *Nandikēśvara* and the *Kilai matha santānas* had their origin in the 13th century. Tiruvorriyūr, Tirukkalukkunram, Palur, Tiruppachchur in the Chingleput district; Tiruvannāmalai, Tiruvottiūr in the North Arcot district; Mēlaiccēri, Chidambaram, Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot district; Jambukeśvaram, Tirumangalam, Ratnagiri in the Tiruchirāppalli district; Kīlaiyūr, Tiruvārūr, Tirukkannapuram, Tirukkadaiyūr, Tiruvāduturai, Kuttālam, Tirukkodikkāval, Śivapuram in the Thanjavur district; Tiruppattūr in Ramnad district; Madurai, Tirupparankunram, Vīrapāndi, Vikkiramangalam in the Madurai district; Manappadaividu, Patamadai, Sērmādēvi, Tiruvālīśvaram, Tinnelvēli, Giriyambalpuram in the Tirunelveli district and Sermadevi in Coimbatore district were the various centres wherefrom the preceptors of the Golaki sect functioned through their institutions, viz., Golaki *mathas*. (Sivaprakasam 1983: 62-70).

The preceptors of Golaki school who were active in different parts of the Tamil Country, in this period, were initially called *ācaryas* and later came to be known as *mudaliyārs*. It may be observed that the replacement of the titles of *ācāryas* by *mudaliyārs* was no doubt due to the influence of Tamil Śaiva *mathas* of *mudaliyār* lineages which appeared in large number in the 13th century A.D.

The *mathas* of this school which provided the institutional basis for the sect were the potent factors for the spread of the Golaki Śaivism throughout the Tamil Country. Their

role as propagators of religious thought and practices in collaboration with temples is well attested to by the contemporary epigraphs. The Śaivācāryas dedicated themselves to the propagation of Golaki *dharma* which incorporated in itself the *Suddaśaiva* philosophy *(Ibid)*. Adept in the mysteries of the Śaiva faith and well versed in the Śaiva doctrine, they imparted religious instruction to their disciples and disseminated the knowledge pertaining to the sect. To attract the religious minded populace, they played a prominent role in arranging for rituals and festivals in collaboration with temples. They undertook the recital of many other religious texts to integrate the masses into the Śaiva fold. The pontiffs and the disciples contributed in large measure to the conduct of regular worship and offerings to the deity in the temple. In fact, the Golaki *maṭhas*, as the *maṭhas* of the other Saiva sects of the period, provided the institutional basis for the *Bhakti* ideology. The Tamil epigraphs of the 12th and 13th centuries bear ample evidence to the above.

The Golaki *maṭhas* gradually acquired more and more resources by virtue of land grants and other benefactions conferred on them by the people of various social ranks, from the members of the royal families down to the commoners. It is but natural that the preceptors, who were already erudite scholars, attained prominence. They had more and more associations with the temples, not only in the rituals and festivals but also in the administration. Instances are there to show how their influence over the temple gradually increased to the extent of taking active part in the temple administration. A record from Tirukkadaiyūr (12th century A.D.) *(ARE* 1906; 40) mentions that one Swāmidēvar cancelled an order of the King appointing two Śaiva priests and put in two others who possessed hereditary rights to the office. This example bears evidence for the growing influence of the pontiffs of the sect, which increased in the 12th century to such an extent that he could cancel an order of the King in order to keep up the traditions and regulations in the temple administration. Not only the pontiffs, even the ordinary monks of the sect, the Maheśvaras, evinced keen interest in the temple affairs and sometimes they figured prominently among the executives of the temples. An interesting example, in this regard, is provided by an inscription of Rājarāja III *(ARE* 1922: 537). During the reign of this King, when the resources at the disposal of the Rāmanandīśvara temple at Tirukkaṇṇapuram were inadequate to meet the expenses of the festivals and worship, the *Maheśvaras* of the Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr (Chidambaram) at the instance of the temple officials, raised funds by the gift of annual payment of money and paddy collected from various temple servants in Cōḷamaṇḍalam, Rājarāja Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, Vīra Cōḷamaṇḍalam, Naḍuvil-nāḍu and Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam.

Through their educational, welfare and charitable activities the Golaki *maṭhas* and their preceptors consolidated the social basis of Śaivism, particularly, the sect. The services rendered by the Golaki *maṭhas* and their preceptors in the field of education are borne out by a few inscriptions. In the *maṭhas* at Tirukkundai Sihaggiyatturai (probably Tiruviḍaikkaḻi), provision was made for the education of certain Brāhmana students

of *Vedanta* from the Malayalam Country (*ARE* 1925: 276). It is evident, here, that this *maṭha* attracted scholars from outside the state. The preceptor of the *maṭha* (Mudivalangum perumal matha) in Sēr..ādēvi was an expert in the *śāstras* and this *maṭha* flourished as an important institution and provided instruction in various *śāstras* to students (*ARE* 1916: 667, 671, 675). A certain Tatpurushaśiva, the preceptor of the *maṭha* at Tiruvanaikka Koil was a professor of Saiva *Siddhānta* who imparted the same to his disciples (*ARE* 1891: 21). Guru Someśvara, also called Īśvara śiva, the preceptor of Kulōttuṅga III, was a great scholar well versed in eighteen *vidyas* (*Śiva-darṣanas*). He was capable of expounding the glory of Śiva as taught in the *Upanishads*. He is said to have written a work called the *Siddhāntaratnākara* (*SII* XXIII: 190).

The *maṭhas* of this sect looked after the public welfare and particularly, looked after the large masses of Śaivite pilgrims who were on their itinerant programmes to various Śaiva centres. The feeding service was conducted in the *maṭhas* daily and during the festival occasions in the temples. This scheme enabled the preceptors and the monks to distribute food among the devotees, ascetics and others who visited the temple. The epigraphical references pertaining to the feeding service in the *maṭhas* are quite many. The provisions were made for feeding the monks, ascetics, Brāhmaṇas, andars, devotees, temple servants, apurvins, itinerant ascetics, pilgrims, reciters, students and others irrespective of caste and social distinctions. Villages, plots of land, paddy and money were donated for the purpose by the Kings and royal dignitaries, the officers, the assembly, the individuals, the village headmen, the temple servants, the dancing girls and the guilds.

The sect met with greater response from the society. The Kings, the queens, the feudatories, the officials, the assemblies, the common people and the merchants and their guilds had all extended their patronage in the guise of construction and endowment of land, cash and kind to the Śaiva *maṭhas* and their Heads. It is not surprising to note that both the rulers and the ruled held the Heads and the disciples of this sect in high esteem and reverence for their spiritual affiliation. In fact some of the preceptors functioned as *Rājagurus*. The Cōḷas were initiated into the sect by their royal preceptors (*Rājagurus*). The names of the preceptors of a few Cōḷa Kings are known from epigraphs. The Thanjavur temple record (*SII*, II, No.90) refers to a certain Īśanaśiva as the preceptor of Rājarāja I. Another record from the same temple (*Ibid*, no. 20) mentions Sarvaśiva as the preceptor of Rājēndra I.

Kulōttuṅga III had arranged for the consecration ceremony of Śiva and Pārvati in the temple of Tribhuvanavīreśwaram temple at Tribhuvanam, performed by his *guru* Someśvara (*ARE* 1907; 190-192). He was the son of Śrīkaṇṭa Sambhu who is identified with Swāmidēvar Śrīkaṇṭa Śiva who was a contemporary of Vikramachōḷa. Rājarāja III had gifted villages, tax free, to honour Swāmidēvar who was the preceptor of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya Kings (*SII* XVII, 692).

It is interesting to note that the name Swāmidēvar was adopted by a successive line of pontiffs or

preceptors who acted as advisers on matters, mostly religious, that were brought to their attention by the Kings of the various dynasties of South India including the Cōḻas. In this context it should be remembered that the preceptors of this sect were the *Rājagurus* of the Kings of Chedi, Kākatiya and other dynasties.

To sum up, the Cōḻa Period witnessed the spread of the Golaki school in the Tamil Country as a sequel to the imperial conquests of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. in the northern territories. This sect which had flourishing institutions headed by learned preceptors and their devoted monks, proliferated throughout the land of the Tamils. Its proliferation was due to the missionary zeal of its preceptors and their disciples and also due to the munificent support extended by the Cōḻa rulers and the religious minded populace in the period.

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SLAVERY IN THE TEMPLES OF MEDIEVAL TAMIL NADU

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Introduction

Slavery was not unknown to ancient India although Strabo, the Greek historian, thought otherwise. As in the Graeco-Roman world, slavery was prevalent throughout India in one form or other. Though a socio-economic problem in its origin, slavery received some religious colour in medieval Tamil Nadu. Probably as a result of Aryan influence, it became deep-rooted in the Brāhmaṇa dominated temple centres of the age from about the 9th century down to the 16th century (Gurukkal 1979:333-46 ; Narayanan 1979: 453-60). Slavery became well entrenched within the temple. The temples of medieval Tamil Nadu enjoyed the right to property, employed a hierarchy of servants and slaves, administered the finances and disposed of cases. The *sabhas* were all powerful in cases of appointments and dismissals. These characteristics of a feudal society largely depended upon the co-operation of the priestly class and the powerful political authority of the State (Stein 1980: 40-1). Under the cloak of religion, which exploited the gullibility of the superstitious and the helplessness of the downtrodden, slavery became an established institution of the medieval Tamil temple. As the temple masked its exploitation by providing much needed employment to the poor, many men and women following this line of least resistance accepted perpetual servitude. As the early attempts of historians to identify the very causes of slavery in temples have failed, an enquiry into the problem has become a *desideratum* (Saletore 1934; Appadorai, 1936; Sastri 1935; Mahalingam 1940; Manickam 1982). This paper attempts to throw fresh light on the feudal character of the problem.

Sources

Epigraphs and literary accounts form the major source of information. Though a number of inscriptions mention women slaves of medieval Tamil temples, they are scanty as to the real circumstances leading to religious servitude. Generally, inscriptions do not convey all about an institution of this kind. They are inadequate and often biassed: even the available ones were engraved perhaps with the intention of glorifying a temple or highlighting the social status of some wealthy, powerful and influential men of the time (*ARE* 1925). In a Brāhmaṇical System keeping slaves might have been a symbol of status. Allowing for these drawbacks, inscriptions supply us

with ample data to trace the socio-economic life of the people. However, in the opinion of Duncan M.Derrett (1957:206-7) these skeleton frames are to be clothed with more economic and sociological flesh and cultural adornment. Although they lack or are deficient in quantitative data and expressions, such information is not totally absent. For instance, we get some valuable information on the prices of women slaves sold out to temples. They make up the gap created by the absence of recorded evidences (State Papers) (Manickam 1982: 9).

Antique Background

/A close study of the *Vedas* reveals the fact that slave girls were employed to perform various duties. The slave girls *(dāsis)* appear to have husked rice with wooden mortar and pestle *(AV* xii: 3:13) and churned butter out of curds with churning staff *(mantha)* bound with cords as horse with reins *(RV* i:28:4) and women active in their tasks sang songs while working. Subsequent religious and legal texts like the *Laws* of Manu, the *Institute* of Visṇu, the *Smritis* of Nārada, *Mahā Bhārata, Arthaśāstra, Bhagavad Gītā* and works of Vasishtha, Āpastamba, Gautama and a number of similar works have given legal and religious sanction to the practice of slavery (Saletore 1934: 109-111). Hence we may conclude that slavery was practised by the Indians of *Aryavartta* from very early times.

The position seems to have been slightly different in ancient Tamil Nadu. V.Kanakasabhai (1956:114) is of opinion that 'slavery was ever unknown amongst the Tamils and this is strong evidence of their superior civilization in this early period'. V.A.Smith (1924:441) also endorses the opinion of Kanakasabhai.

But their generalisations appear to be weak. Some Śaṅgam classics refer to the slaves as *Aḍimai*. The *Tolkāppiyam* (*Col.* 56:2) and the *Kuṟaḷ* (608) speak of *aḍimai*. Probably, as distinguished from slaves, there were independent labourers called *Aḍiyar (Tol. Porul.* 25:1) who were engaged for specific services (Pillay 1975: 199). The *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (67:12) calls the slave *aḍiyuṟai*, which has been interpreted to denote total dependence (Subrahmanyam 1966: 284). The *Cilappadikāram*, a post-Śaṅgam classic, refers to *urimaichuṟṟam*. The early commentators have interpreted this term as *aḍimaittiraḷ*, meaning a cluster of *aḍimaigaḷ* 'slaves'. Further, we learn that Karikālaṉ, an early Cōḻa monarch, brought home a number of prisoners of war from Ceylon, and used them as forced labour in raising the embankments to the river Kāviri (Smith 1924: 481). On some of these grounds Subrahmanyam (1966: 284) postulates a theory of the existence of slavery in the Tamil Nadu of the Śaṅgam age.

Nevertheless, to S.Manickam these evidences seem to be weak premises to assert the prevalence of the institution in Tamil Nadu. He argues that the views of the commentators cannot be accepted as they attributed meanings of their own age to problems of an earlier age. According to Manickam, the meanings of commentators can yield other meanings also. Again, he says that it is an anachronism to cite an example of a later age to corroborate an earlier problem. According to him the citation of a reference

from *Kalittogai* by N.Subrahmanyan does not exist at all. Further, he says that K.K.Pillay had raised doubts about the very fact of slavery, while dealing with agricultural labour. S.Manickam also draws up on the views of Parimēlalagar to refute the concept of *adimai* mentioned in *Kural*. Further, he says that the term *adiyōr* or *adiyar* has not been used in a restricted sense to mean slaves of low order. Finally, he regards Karikālan's order of forced labour as an example of penal servitude and cheap captive labour. On these grounds, Manickam (1982: 22-5) concludes that the question remains unsettled.

But Manickam's conclusion is unwarranted. There is a reference to *Kontimakalirin* *Pattinappālai* (ll.246-9). Elaborating the method of worship in the *Pothiyil* 'common hall' of Kāvirippūmpattinam, Rudrankannanār refers to the forced labour of some captive women. They were left in the common hall to serve more in the capacity of slave women. According to Manu's classification of the fifteen kinds of *dāsis*, the 'captive women of war' *(Kontimakalir)* were placed in the eight division (Nagasamy 1979:222-3). What is found mentioned in *Rājāvaliya* of Ceylon and *Pattinappālai*, therefore, amounts to slavery.

Pallava Age

By the time of the Pallavas slavery had become gradually institutionalized. As a result of the *bhakti* movement, temple building activities received a fresh impetus. Temples and *mathas* 'monasteries' were built in huge numbers. Such temples became centres of rituals and festivals. The need for temple servants to look after the affairs of the temples and to perform the rituals became inevitable. As the temples acquired properties and lands, many women and men found their way into temple service. *Dēvadāsis* were among them.

The *bhakti* literature of the *Nāyanmārs* and *Ālvārs* uses terms like *adiyar, adigal* and *adimai* to denote slaves. Their servants considered *bhakti*, as a total surrender to personal gods, like a slave to his master. In a state of flawless *bhakti*, they surrendered themselves to absolute devotional servitude. They considered themselves the lowest of the lowly, probably the slaves of the tenth order (*Tēvāram* 6:15:2). With reference to the Vaisnava *bhakti* Friedhelm Hardy says that it was like a feudal subject's subjugation to his master (Stein 1978:132).

In the 8th century A.D. epigraphs record the surrender of women slaves to temples, may be due to piety or economic necessity. Such girls who consecrated themselves to the service of Śiva temples were called *adigalmār* and those who dedicated themselves to the services of Visnu temples were known as *emperumānadiyar*. An inscription of Dharmamahādēvi, wife of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, avers that the temple of Muktesvara at Kāñchi had some thirty-two *adigalmār* to serve the god there (Minakshi 1938:177-8). Another undated record of Mārambāvai, wife of Nandivarman III, found at the Divyajnaneśvara temple at Kōviladi confirms the service of *adigalmār* (*ARE* 1901:303). Another record registers the services of some *emperumānadiyar* in temples. These maid servants of the temples of the Pallava age engaged themselves in perpetual servitude as members of the temple establishment.

Yet another instance of traditional or hereditary enslavement in this age occurs in the life history of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār. The *Periyapurānam*, a Śaivite hagiology, narrates how Sundarar called upon an elderly Brāhmana (who was actually Lord Śiva Himself) to prove his claim that Sundarar was the traditional slave or *Adimai* of the old Brahmin. The *ūrpañchāyat*, a kind of village tribunal, on verification of a document *(adimai ōlai)* produced by the aged Brāhmana, decreed that Sundarar and his ancestors had already bound themselves to be perpetual slaves.

From this episode we infer that the idea of perpetual bondage of a hereditary nature among the Brāhmanas of Tamil Nadu had already been established. The system involved legal instruments such as an original bond bearing the signature of the bonded party, a copy of the original deed, a village tribunal settling over the dispute, the right of ownership of slave-master, and also about the condition of the slaves, i.e., total dependence and lack of personal freedom even to marry. The episode indicates that a Brāhmana could be enslaved only by another Brāhmana and not by a man of another caste. It reveals the concept of *āndān-adimai*, i.e., the master-slave relationship (Manickam 1982: 26-8). The idea of master-slave relationship emphasises the feudal character of medieval Tamil society.

Cōla, Pāndya and Vijayanagar Periods

Some native works such as Vijñānēśvara's *Mitāksāra* prove the existence of slavery in medieval South India. As an institution, it expanded under the Imperial Cōlas and Pāndyas. Coinciding with the expansion of Cōla imperialism throughout South India, it spread widely. When a large number of temples arose, the introduction of slavery became unavoidable. As lovers of pageantry, the Cōla monarchs needed many servants and slaves to maintain the 'show' *(Chau Jukua* p.95, Sastri 1975: 450-1). Feudalism as a socio-economic phenomenon took deep-roots in temple administration (Campakalakshmi 1976: 379). The temple-centred Brāhmana settlements became a privileged lot and dominated the religious affairs of the Empire. For their religious activities they demanded the service of slaves. Thus the Tamil society came under the influence of North Indian values and gave priority to the prescriptions of Manu's *Dharma Śāstra* and Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

Temple administration under the Cōlas and Pāndyas needed the service of a number of functionaries. All temple servants from the priests to the slaves were called *talippari-vāram* 'temple establishment' *(SII* II: iii 279). To perform various services in the temple, many male and female servants were appointed and slaves purchased. Once they entered the temple service, they became the property of the temple. The purchase of slaves involved sale-deeds, branding, assigning of duties etc. Thus, temple slavery became a complicated affair under the Cōlas and the Pāndyas. Under the imperial Vijayanagar rulers, it continued to exist with added vigour. It is attested by many inscriptions and literature, both native and foreign.

Vijñānēśvara enumerates fifteen kinds of slaves in his work. From an analysis of the available epigraphical data, A.Appadorai (1936:314-5)

has confirmed the presence of eight categories of slaves in Southern India. In medieval Tamil Nadu probably there were more than these 8 categories.

Vijñānēśvara's fifteen types may broadly be classified into non-voluntary and voluntary slaves. According to Miers and Kopytoff (1977:7), "slavery means economic, social and political deprivation, legal impotence and oppression". In Tamil temples it was more due to socio-economic distress rather than religious piety that slavery developed as an institution. While economic factors formed the ground of non-voluntary servitude, religious factors promoted voluntary bondage. In the case of non-voluntary enslavement, a sale-deed between the affected party and the party that accepted was entered into. The prices were clearly stipulated in the purchase deeds.

Non-Voluntary Servitude

Probably it was out of compelling situations that many men and women entered into perpetual bondage in temples. Such situations were poverty, famine, drought, debt, desertion, problems of dowry and the heavy proportion of women in the population and its concentration in poor families, etc. It is said that poor and down-trodden women, instead of taking to the streets, sought refuge in the temples. (Baliga 1962:63). Many inscriptional evidences establish this fact. One, dated in A.D.1201, from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (*ARE* 1911:86) mentions the general prevalence of slavery owing to utter economic distress during the reign of Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1178-1217). Unable to bear the effects of a severe drought, a Veḷḷāla sold himself and two of his daughters out to one of the temple *maṭhas* for a price of 110 *kāsu*. The record runs: "the time was very bad, that paddy was sold at 3 *nāḻi* for one *kāsu*, that his children were dying for want of food and that consequently himself and his two daughters took 110 *kāsu* from the temple treasury and sold themselves" (*ARE* 1911:29). A record of A.D.1453 says that mounting debt made some women to be deserted. Their creditors are said to have given them much trouble. There was none to come to their rescue. As a last resort, they approached the temple authorities and got their debt cleared by accepting slavery in the temple of Sundararājapperumāḷ at Ponnamarapati. The villagers summoned the *sabha*, took the decision to extend their helping hands to the suffering women. Several inscriptions affirm the sale of men and women to bondage in temples. A Brāhmaṇa of Nāṅgūr is said to have sold six persons as slaves to the temple of Mēlapperumpaḷḷam in Thanjore District; another set of two women sold seven persons inclusive of themselves to the same temple; another set of fifteen persons are reported to have sold themselves and their descendants to the same temple (*ARE* 1925:216-19). One mediator, named Chandraśekharan of Nandivarmaṉ-maṅgalam, sold his three women slaves in A.D.948 to the temple of Vayalūr (*ARE* 1936-37:149a). In A.D.1105 an officer is said to have sold, as slave, a person to the temple of Karuṅkuḷam in Tirunelveli District (*ARE* 1927-28:230). A record of A.D.1119 contains the information that one bowman sold some of his family women as slaves to the Tiruvallaṅkōyil (*ARE* 1921:230).

A record of the 2(7)th. year of the Koṅgu king Vikrama Cōḷa

registers the assignment of servants to a temple of Annur by a resident of Kōvaiyanputtūr (*ARE* 1922:594). An inscription of A.D.1587-88 registers the appointment of two dancing-girls to the temple of Mannārkōyil (*SITI* II:839). The famous Thanjore inscription of Rājarāja I records the transfer of 400 *Talicchērip-pendugal* to the Big Temple in 1014 A.D. (*SII* II: ii, 66) from various other temples of his domain. An inscription of the 3rd regnal year of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya records the appointment of ten women to temple service. Inscriptions inform us that slaves were also purchased for dedication. A record from Kīlayūr of A.D.1183 refers to the names of some slaves purchased by a *matha* (*ARE* 1925:76). Another inscription of A.D.1219 registers that a stone mason, his wife and four sons were purchased by the *matha* of Achyuta-mangalam (*ARE* 1925:409). An epigraph of A.D.1425-6 states that one Nāduvāsaludaiyan purchased some girls and made them over to the temple of Narasimhesvara (*IA* 58:169). Epigraphs also refer to royal or private persons' presentation or donation of slaves for temples. Many Cōla kings are said to have presented slaves for temple service. Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) says that 'many young girls' were presented by their parents for temple service (Sastri 1972:171). All these are examples of involuntary enslavement.

Voluntary Enslavement

There are many epigraphical evidences to prove voluntary dedication of men and women for service in temples. In voluntary bondage, as K.A.Nilakanta Sastri (1935:555) suggests, the religious motive must have been more dominant than the economic. They served the temples 'pleasurably and devotionally'. Women volunteered their services to the temple in perpetuity according to a record of the 23rd year of Cōla Kēraladēva of the Vēdapurīśvara temple at Kīlaiyūr (*ARE* 1925:76). It records a list of the persons who had bound themselves to serve in the temple. It also provides a list of such servants attached to the *matha* of the place. We hear that families volunteered to dedicate themselves to the service of temples or were voluntarily gifted away to them(*ARE* 1910:289). Some voluntarily sold themselves to the temples as slaves (*ARE* 1911:86). Having renounced worldly life, a *dēvadēvi* is said to have voluntarily entered the service of Śrī Ranganātha at Śrīrangam. She died there as a temple servant (*IA* 34: 282-3). Duarte Barbosa says, "some unmarried women put themselves there of their own free will." An inscription of A.D.1498 further corroborates the account of Barbosa. Voluntary dedication of women occurred under conditions of fulfilling prayers or solemn vows already made.

Slaves Of Temples And Monasteries

Slaves can be sub-divided into two: the slaves of temples and slaves of monasteries, called *dēvadimais* (*PSI* 814) *matha-adimais* (*ARE* 1925-26:90) respectively. Women slaves in temples were variously called as *dēvaradiyār*, *talicchērip-pendugal*, *padiyilār*, *dēvanār makalār*, *adigalmār*, *dēvadāsis*, *taliyilār*, etc. As a principle they were not allowed to marry, as they were wedded to the deities concerned by the sacred ceremony called *tāraivārttukkoduttal* (*PSI* 286) or *pottukkattudal*. Inscriptions

call such sacred marriage as *tiru-vatkaippattāl*. (*ARE* 1925:411).

The *mathas* of medieval Tamil Nadu are comparable to the monasteries of medieval Europe. They were endowed with landed properties. They fostered religious education and metaphysical studies. They possessed *matha adimais* to cultivate the lands under their control. An inscription of Kulōttunga III (A.D.1208) from the temple of Tiruvālankādu refers to the sale of men and women as slaves (*adimai*) for cultivating the lands of the *matha* (*ARE* 1925-26:90). Similar transactions took place in connection with the *mathas* at Kīlaiyūr (*ARE* 1925:74, 76), Achyutamangalam (*ARE* 1925:409) and Tiruvālankādu (*ARE* 1911:86).

Household Slaves

During times of severe droughts and famines women were compelled to seek asylum under nobles by surrendering themselves as hereditary slaves (Pandarattar 1974:572). Epigraphs inform us that certain authorities of the state had the right to maintain slaves. Tiruvēgambamudaiyān Centhāmaraikkannān *alias* Vayirādarāyan (*SII* IV:558), Sōlakulavallinattūr Pullali Vēlān, Manathukkiniyān alias Kanakarāyan (*SII* VIII:315) and some other anonym[illegible] authorities of the state (*ARE* [illegible]:90) enjoyed such a privilege. Very important persons of the state, like chieftains, enjoying special rights and privileges, owned slaves. Edirilisōla Ganga Nādālvān (*ARE* 1904:499), Naduvāsaludaiyān Marudarājiyam Kondān (*ARE* 1949-50:369), Dēvar Āriya Chakravartigal (*SII* VIII:396) are said to have sold their slaves. The King's list of household servants included slaves (*ARE* 1926:94). Slavery is also said to have stemmed from kidnapping or crime (Bougert 1963: 143-94). It is learnt from an inscription of A.D. 1177 that the slaves after the death of a husband went to the wife of the deceased (*ARE* 1918:538). It is also learnt that women brought slaves as dowry to their husbands (*ARE* 1926:94). Certain individuals had the right to possess or sell their slaves (*ARE* 1925:216).

Those household slaves were variously called *pendātti*(*ARE* 1926: 235) *adukkalaip-pendu* (*ARE* 1914:11) and *anukkiyar*. The last one served both the king and the deity. One *Nangaip Paravai* is recorded in inscriptions as the *anukkiyar* of Rājēndra I and the *dēvaradiyāl* of the temple of Tiruvārūr (*ARE* 1919:680). According to a record of A.D.1038 of the time of Rājēndra I, Sāttan Rāmadēviyār served as an *anukkiyar* of the king (*ARE* 1912:153). *Anukkan* is the male form of *anukki*; they were also intimate servants of the kings. It is learnt from this that not only the temples and *mathas* but also nobles, chieftains and officials of the state maintained slaves. In addition to menial works done, it was a status symbol. In a feudal society, the status of a man was measured by the number of wives he had, number of concubines he kept, total extent of landed property he possessed, number of cattles he bred, hot money and other forms of wealth he owned. Above all, his status was measured by the total number of slaves he owned; greater the number of slaves greater the status of a noble.

Traditional, Group And Family Servitude.

One has to surmise from the

episode in Sundaramūrti Nāyaṉār's life that the practice of traditional slavery was fairly widespread. Epigraphs bear evidence to hereditary and family bondage, and total and partial servitude. Material relating to partial servitude is very rare. For example, one Caturāḷ Caturi is spoken of as the wife of one individual (*ARE* 1912:147). It seems she served the temple partially after her marriage. To be a slave in perpetuity for generations was perhaps considered meritorious (*ARE* 1922:19). A Sanskrit record of the Someśvara temple of Duṭṭiga (date not known) informs that three hundred *Sānis* were serving the temple hereditarily. Those who served temples by virtue of family tradition were called *aḍiyar*. An unpublished inscription traced from the Teṉkarai temple mentions an instance of hereditary service of women in that temple. It is understood that the people of Iḍaikkuḍi were traditional slaves (*SII* VIII:396).

Duties

Temple slaves of the various denominations were engaged in various types of work. They did dancing, singing (*SITII*:525), reciting *Tiruppadigams* (*PSI* 90), acting, painting, carrying the lamp (*TAS* V:24) etc. They also rendered menial services like sweeping the temple premises, smearing the floor with cowdung (*SII* IV:558), husking paddy (*TAS* Vi:24), cleaning the rice required for offerings to the god (*SII* VII:485), cleaning kitchen vessels (*ibid*), fetching flowers (*SII* iii: 151 A), making garlands (*IA* XXXIV:282-3), bringing water, decorating the surroundings, making gardens (*ARE* 1921:346), looking after perpetual lamps (*ARE* 1906: 284), conducting festivals (*ARE* 1910: 274), washing the clothes of the deities (*ARE* 1916:578), fanning the idols (*SII* V:716) and waiting upon the goddess with *chauris* (*SITI*: 525). They also carried the *Tiruvālatti* and the *Tiruccūlam* (*PSI*, 162). Some appear to have been attached to the temple granary. Some of them carried the torch (*SII* XIV:132) and burnt incense (*ARE* 1917:519).

The male slaves of temples and *maṭhas* were called *paṇṇaiseivār* and *vēlaiseivār* (*SII* XXIII:428). They cultivated the temple lands (*ARE* 1911:86) laid flower gardens, trained female slaves in singing and dancing, blew the trumpet (*kāḷam*), beat the *uvaccu* and blew the *conch*, dressing stones for temples, conducting dramatic shows, making pots for temples and washing clothes.

Sale Price

In a feudal society, slaves become the private property of the propertied class. Temples and *maṭhas*, as landowning institutions, employed a large number of them. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri says that a considerable element in the population, especially among agricultural labourers, lived under conditions not far different from slavery. Several inscriptions bear witness to the most odious form of private property, i.e., owning human beings. As slaves they were bought and sold like chattel. Free men and women fell into slavery for various reasons as discussed earlier.

The price of slaves varied from place to place, time to time and the prevailing conditions. It is said that the period between Rājādhirāja II and Rājarāja III (11th and 12th

centuries A.D.) was an "age of the multiplicity of slaves". A record of A.D.1123 evidences the sale of eight persons for 13 *kāsu*. Another record of A.D.1131 registers the sale of six persons by an individual for 13 *kāsu*. In the same year a lady is said to have sold herself out and six persons to a temple for 30 *kāsu*. In the previous case each person was sold for 2 1/6 *kāsu*, but in this case the price of a slave went up to 4 2/7 *kāsu*. Another record registers the sale of fifteen persons including the seller-lady, her daughter, grandson, his children and others for 30 *kāsu*. Here the price of a person comes down to 2 *kāsu*.

According to another record of A.D.1201, a Veḷḷāḷa and his two daughters sold themselves out for 110 *kāsu* to a *maṭha (ARE* 1911:86). An inscription of A.D.1175 records a sale of four women to the temple of Tiruvālaṅkāḍu for a sum of 700 *kāsu (ARE* 1913:80). A lithic record of A.D.1219 states that a certain individual sold five men and five women and their descendants for 1,000 *kāsu* to the temple of Tirumaraikkāḍu (*ARE* 1904:499). Ellis cites an inscription dated A.D.1593 of the time of Vēṅkaṭapatidēva I in which a family of seven Paraiyaṉs is sold for a sum of 81/2 *pagodas*. The sales mentioned above were effected in various circumstances. Hence the variation in the sale prices.

Sale Deeds

The reference to sales, points to the fact that slaves were the chattel of certain individuals who had the right to sell them, and the religious institutions had the right to purchase them as a commodity. Nicolo Dei Conti, one of the travellers of the Vijayanagar period, records as follows: "They have a vast number of slaves and the debtor, who is insolvent, is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor. Slaves were being classed along with land, jewels and cattle.

The practice of drawing up a sale deed in respect of slaves is evident from the episode of Sundaramūrti Nāyaṉār in the 9th century A.D. Thenceforth all transactions involving their sale, purchase, mortage or transfer were registered in legal documents. The documents executed at the time of disposal were called *āḷ vilaip-pramāṇa isaivut-tiṭṭu* (*ARE* 1911:296). *Manu Dharmaśāstra* calls it *dāsapathiram*. The *Periyapurāṇam (Taduttatkonda* 40-50) refers to it as *ālōlai*. While entering in the palm leaves it is written as *ivvōlaiyaip -piṭipāṭākakkoṇḍu (SII* VIII:396) and when engraved on stones it is written as *chandirādittavarai Neṟkuṟuvadākak-koṇḍu cilālēkai seithu koḍuttōm (SII* IV:558). Auction of slaves in public was very much in vogue during the Cōḷa period, and the practice continued long afterwards. The auction took place in the presence of an official called *madhyasthar* and the price of the slaves was determined with his help. The registered sale deed was called *ālōlai pattiram* (Manickam 1982:56-9).

Branding of the Slaves

When a slave was solemnised, it was carried out with branding to show her/his perpetual bondage to the temple. The marks denoted the emblems of the temple. This means: (i) no freedom to the slave to go out of the temple service, (ii) to clearly identify slaves of Śiva or Viṣṇu or other temples. Slaves in Śiva temples were branded with

a *śūla* 'trident', mark, and of Viṣṇu temples with *Śaṅka* and *chakra* marks *(ARE* 1921: 230). Periyāḻvār in *Tirumoḻi* (1:1:7) says, ". . . being brand marked, myself and everything I own, with the property sign of your discus". Some female servants of the temple of Tiruvallam were branded with the trident mark (*śūla ilaccinai) (ARE* 1921:230).

Once the slaves were branded they were not permitted to enter outside service even in a royal house. Contrary to this established practice, some women were found in the royal household of Kulōttuṅga I. On a complaint by the temple authorities, they were checked and found to bear the trident mark. Regretting his mistake, the king immediately restored the slaves to the temple service *(ARE* 1922:141). The event established the fact that they were the permanent property of the temple to which they belonged.

Position

As a matter of fact, secualr slaves were often ill-treated by their owners. The case was slightly different in the temples of medieval Tamil Nadu. However, they never enjoyed full freedom to act as they liked. They were always under strict watch and supervision by the temple and royal authorities *(SII* II: iii: 66). Any kind of desertion of assigned duties was punishable. An inscription registers a purchase, sale deed and a resolution to assign the new slaves specific duties and punish them suitably when they failed in their duties. It then states that after some time, some of the slaves defied the orders of the *Sthānattār* of the temple and took to mischievous and roguish ways, and the matter was laid before a general assembly of the authorities of the temple and *maṭhas*. *(ARE* 1926: 94).

Conclusion

The foregoing study proves that slavery was not widely prevalent in ancient Tamil Nadu. There were sporadic instances which suggest the beginnings, probably as the result of Aryan contact. It seems to have been institutionalized in the Pallava period when Sanskritic ideas infiltrated deeply into Tamil Nadu. The emergence of *bhakti* cult, rise of a large number of temple structures, springing up of a feudalistic society, the beginnings of a temple-centred Brahmana culture and similar factors promoted its growth. Its extension and wide popularity in medieval temples coincided with the expansion of the Cola imperialism. Slavery became complicated in this age. It spread to *mathas* and domestic circles. For a long time to come it retained its hold over the temples.

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SIDDHĀNTA MUKTI: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ULTIMATE END OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

K.Loganathan Mutharayan

1.0 The Rules of the Game

The metaphysical question of the meaning of *life*, why we are here as creatures in the world with bodies and psychophysical utensils for effecting actions and gaining experience, painful at times; where we are heading to an so forth resolves itself into the question about *mukti* or *moksa* (Ta. *vīṭu)* the highest of the four *purusārthas*. As the brilliant and insightful biographical sketches of the Śaiva Nāyaṉmārs given by Sēkkiḻār in the famous *Periapurāṇam* would reveal, no matter what route we have taken in our intellectual development, no matter how these developmental processes have been conditioned by accidents of birth, historical circumstances and cultural dynamics, this question of questions bursts upon one, gripping the soul so earnestly that all other endeavours are reduced to triviality and superficiality. The historical records of the Nāyaṉmārs, Āḻvārs and a host of others throughout the world also reveal that this question is not the privilege of the rich or those with some divine rights decreed by tradition or scriptures. It emerges in the bosom of man and woman alike, rich and the poor, the privileged and the underprivileged. It emerges in the contexts of a life shattering vacuum in the deepest recesses of the person, raising him or her immediately above the ordinary. The person gripped with this question is reborn with all that constituted him, that was *him* buried irrevocably deep down. Kingdoms are given up, family and kinship ties severed, the pleasures of life forsaken in search of an answer to this basic question of life, of existence. Persons stung with this question constitute a new community of their own where the accidents of birth and attainments in scholarship, power and wealth are absolutely irrelevant. They become a new species of human beings with a deep and implicit understanding of each other, in particular, the common presuppositions that now begin to condition their existence.

The commonalities that unite these beings do not identify the method with which they seek the answers. The methods are as diverse as the individuals and each brings along a distinct temper and orientation, at least at the beginning. Seeking an answer to this question is actually an attempt to gain *clarity* with respect to the goal, the terminus absolutes of existence as such. A new mode of psychic struggle develops within, where all the intellectual and behavioral competencies are

pressed into service for the supreme task of gaining this clarity. Metaphysical systems, religious cults, philosophy, sacred music, dance, drama, poetry, *yogas*, and *tapas*, *mantras* and *yantras* and so forth constitute some of the *methods* recorded in the history of mankind.

In all these, the philosophic method has a pre-eminence over the others. The term 'philosophy' is used here in the Indian sense, i.e. a rational enquiry into the sustaining *darsana* or *kāṭci*, i.e., a vision, a insight or the grounding Idea. A gestaltic Idea, a global vision of the world that channels the psychic processes of the individual and hence regulates his behaviour, becomes the object of philosophical enquiry under certain circumstances. For the Idea could be vague, mistaken, irrelevant, not ultimate and so forth.[1]

The Idea is an objective reality and hence it is possible to undertake an enquiry into it and work towards a consensus and clarity. It is possible for *many* to gain a vision of the sustaining Ideas and thereby agree or disagree among themselves. It may also be impossible for many for lack of sufficient intellectual tuning *(apakkuvam)* and where such is the case a training program is installed to gradually heighten the sensitivity and competency to the required levels. This sensitivity is only a *precondition* for gaining a vision of Ideas and thereby qualify for a discourse on them. The enquiry then is conducted among individuals who have visions of the Ideas but who are inclined differently with respect to different Ideas. Where a consensus is reached, a particular Idea among the different Ideas is assented to as the most comprehensive, meaningful, errorless, satisfying and so forth.[2]

The philosophical enquiry, then, though throughly rational, is not *logical* in the ordinary sense of the term. It is thoroughly rational in the sense that we use principles that we are aware of and can be stated in explicit terms and simultaneously avoid the *a priori* acceptance of a body of scriptures or the pronouncements of a particular individual as absolutely authoritative and so forth. The enquiry rightly should begin with suspending all the accomplishments of the cultural and intellectual past -- there must be an intellectual nudity, so to speak, a *nirvana* of prejudices and presuppositions. It is only within the framework of such an enquiry, an Idea among so many Ideas could emerge as the final, the ultimate, the true, the most meaningful. We shall use the term *siddhānta* to designate an Idea with the above qualifying characteristics or *ilakkaṇam*. The term *siddhānta* is appropriate in many ways. It is a compound formed of two terms viz. *sid* and *anta*. *Sid* is an ancient proto-Dravidian term which occurs as *sid* in Sumerian with such meanings as 'recitation', 'calculation', 'reckoning' and so forth. The old Tamil term *cettu* 'to think, ponder' is obviously a derivative of this. In view of this, it is possible to consider *cittam*, *cintaṇai*, *citti*, *cittar* and so forth as Tamil words related to the ancient proto-Drāviḍian *sid*. The sense we propose for the present use is that of vision, an insight, an awareness or consciousness as structured by an Idea. This combined with the meaning of 'limiting' the 'highest' and so forth associated with *anta*, we are led to view the meaning of *siddhānta*, as the most enduring,

unassailable, errorless, the absolutely true, the most meaningful, the most comprehensive vision or consciousness as constituted by an Idea. *Siddhanta Mukti* would then be a vision of *Mukti*, a consciousness of the ultimate goal of existence that answers to the above qualifications.

It must be stated here rather emphatically that an enquiry into *Siddhānta Mukti*, is not an enquiry into the psychological processes involved in the genesis of the Ideas on *mukti*. We are indifferent as to its genesis -- whether it is revealed in dreams or some other subliminal states of consciousness, or intuited through ardent *tapas* and *yogas* or arrived at through careful considerations of the semantic and other nuances of the sacred literature or through the performances of the sacred dances or singing and listening to sacred hymns and *mantras*, or through meditative practices using the *yantras* as props and so forth do not furnish the criteria that command our assent as to its ultimacy -- the *anta-ic* character of the consciousness of the most meaningful goal of existence. The routes followed give us only knowledge of the routes and not that of the terminus. In following a route, we are aware of the route and that we are heading somewhere and these two are distinct. The route does not reveal the Idea that sustains the travel, the Idea too, other than sustaining the travel, does not incline the individuals to a particular route. The routes could be numerous, for clearly the existence of one does not preclude the possibility of another.

A caution is necessary here. While it is possible for many routes to reach the same destination, it is equally possible for different routes to reach *different* destinations. Also we cannot, strictly speaking, sever the linkage between routes and destinations. One may very well have chosen a particular route knowing very well where it leads to and such a person may be inclined positively towards some other routes knowing very well or on being informed (by reliable persons) that these too lead towards the same goal. Among individuals who differ in their concept of where they are heading too, what is the meaning of existence, we have to resolve first the differences in this domain before coming to resolving differences in the choice of routes. Only subsequent to clearly grasping that a particular Idea of *mukti* is the highest, the most meaningful and the true, that we possess the appropriate criteria for deciding which among the different possible routes could be *trusted* upon and which could not. An enquiry into *Siddhānta mukti* is undertaken precisely for this purpose: to sensitize ourselves to the criteriological features of the sense of *mukti* that answers to the description of the ultimate goal of existence.

Such an enquiry, it must be noted, precludes those incapable of ever generating, even vaguely, such an idea at all. They are pre-philosophic, lacking the cognitive tuning that would reveal, in some form or other, the notion of the ultimate goal of existence. They exist, live as creatures of nature pulled and pushed by forces beyond their comprehension.

This enquiry then would be confined to those who have risen above the natural state of existence and seek to attain a reflective awareness, a clear grasp of the *true mukti*.

Let us also note carefully: an enquiry into *siddhānta mukti* is not a *logical* enquiry, a deductive, inductive or even abductive acrobatics. There are no *a priori* axioms or rules of inference on the basis of which we churn out notions of *mukti* and select one among the many as the true one. It is not a *nigamana* nor a theorem.

What then are the rules of the game?

What we are seeking is *clarity of vision* and in that clarity also realizing that a particular vision of *mukti* cannot be *subverted or supplanted* by another. In the process of the enquiry, we gain vision after vision of that which we have called *mukti*, sensitize ourselves to what each one of them *imply* in terms of the mode of existence in the world, attitude towards existence and *react* to those implications and thereby *evaluate* them in some sense. Generating a vision or idea, noting its implications for existence, reacting to that implied possibility and thereby evaluating the vision itself constitute the *activities* involved in this enquiry. It can be seen that the process is akin to *recognising* something as what one is after and *ascertaining* that there is no error in this recognition. This enquiry then presupposes a specific cognitive capacity among all -- that of being able to recognise a particular vision of *mukti* as constituting the ultimate. We possess in other words a *citśakti* (as Agora Sivacariar would describe it) within our cognitive competency that enables us to recognise a vision of *mukti* as the ultimate one. However, the vision in itself, no matter how clearly it is grasped, cannot reveal itself as the ultimate and true -- the *citśakti* remains impotent under such circumstances. The *citśakti* becomes operative onlywhen the vision is brought to bear upon existence -- how the Idea would ground the manner in which we would relate ourselves to the world. The *citśakti* guides existence and is operative in every conduct of life, in every action we execute.[3]

There is also another set of circumstances within which *citśakti* becomes operative. When one among the different visions of *mukti* stands out as the most comprehensive, that which subverts and supplants other visions but remains itself unsupplanted and unsubverted and beyond and above which no other visions of the same species can even be generated, *citsakti* becomes operative in *recognising* this as the *siddhānta mukti* or *para mukti*.

The notions of 'supplanting' and 'subverting' that we have used above needs further clarification. The notion of *siddhānta* as a vision that remains unsupplanted and unsubverted is a more general notion than the notion of *siddhānta mukti* - i.e. the Idea of *mukti* that is a *siddhānta*. A *siddhānta*, first of all, is a vision, a sight or perception of something. A vision, it must be noted, is always that of *someone* and of *something*. The objects are there prior to the vision; the vision reveals the objects to the individual who generates the vision. A vision is not a light that exists on its own revealing objects in addition to revealing itself. A vision is a generated consciousness of an object and therefore there must be the generator of the consciousness and the object of which it is a consciousness. What

is clear also is that neither the processes of generation nor the subjective inputs of the generating self establish its validity. A vision is valid and correct if it is true to the object it reveals, the object of which it is a vision. And this is again established by *citśakti* through evaluating a number of visions of the *same* objects. The *citśakti* recognises one among the many possible ones as free of aberrations, distortions, and so forth. The many visions prior to the activation of *citśakti* remain ungrounded -- they could not be valued as true or illusory, misleading and so forth. A vision is seen as an illusion, as an error, only when through the functions of *citsakti*, another vision emerges as true to the object. An illusion is then a supplanted or subverted vision and *siddhānta* is that which supplants and subverts. An enquiry into *siddhānta* then arises on the implicit assumption that visions that define our consciousness of the world remain ungrounded -- we are neither certain not uncertain with respect to their validity. Note that a vision could be a *siddhānta* right at its inception, but we are unable to say so before the operations of *citśakti*, till it is noted that it remains unsupplanted and unsubverted. Describing a *siddhānta* as free of doubt and error, as is done by Arunandi Sivacariar, though not incorrect, is inadequate. Such a definition does not reveal the *procedures* involved in the establishments of *siddhāntas*. Doubt and uncertainties are subjective conditions and the absence of these is not sufficient for grounding a vision as a *siddhānta*. In perceiving we gain a vision with or without accompanying uncertainties and where this vision is further cognised as true to the object of which it is a vision, that it remains *stable* despite changing vicissitudes, an *invariant* across time and space, it becomes a *siddhānta*. This may be what Arunandi meant by *ācu arru arivatākum* in which case what we are doing now would be restating his case perhaps in greater detail.

Siddhāntas are then visions grounded well in reality, consciousness of the world that can be depended upon, trusted upon, taken as true and so forth. In ordinary existence we presuppose many such *siddhāntas* and act successfully for obtaining whatever we want.

Siddhāntas as such can be numerous, each existing independently of others. They constitute the consciousness space of an individual thereby influencing his behaviour. There are certain general characteristics of *siddhāntas* that ought to be noted carefully.

(A) The *siddhāntas* constitute a *coherent* system with any one of the *siddhāntas* not subverting or supplanting another. All *siddhāntas*, are stable, true and non-illusory and hence the trusted basis of consciousness. They are all equally *beyond* doubt and uncertainty.

We shall term this the *coherence* thesis.

(B) Now a belief in a vision and a tenacious clinging to it for some psychological reason or other (membership to a cult, assent to a sacred lore, enslavery to a guru etc.) should not be mistaken with a *siddhānta*. Also, while a *siddhānta* commands a consensus of opinions, an assent by a vast majority of people, these in themselves do not constitute the identifying criteria of a *siddhānta*.

Whether assented or not, a *siddhānta* is a *siddhānta* for all people and for all times. *Siddhāntas* are *objective* entities cognisable by all under certain specifiable conditions. '*siddhāntas*' are visions that can be *discovered*, insights that can be gained, by any, provided certain preconditions are satisfied.

We shall term this the *objectivity* thesis.

(C) *Siddhāntas*, as already noted, are stable, invariant, uncontroverted, unsupplantable visions of Reality, visions of the world out there that constitute the basis of human consciousness. As such, it is clear that they are *trusted*, *relied upon*, *presupposed* in all our endeavours. Having accepted them as *siddhāntas*, we cannot feign to deny them, distrust them, cast a methodical doubt on them and so forth.

This we shall term the *reliability* thesis. The *siddhāntas* on the whole then constitute a coherent system, are reliable (or relied upon) and objective.

A certain qualification is necessary here. While *siddhāntas* constitute the *basis* of consciousness, they are not the *only* elements constituting consciousness. Visions of reality that are not grounded yet as *siddhāntas* or known positively as ungroundable; visions known positively as illusory, misleading and so forth are also elements of consciousness. What the reliability thesis seeks to affirm is that among such visions that constitute consciousness, there must be at least *some* that are *siddhāntas*, that not *all* of them are illusory or ungroundable and so forth.[4]

Having clarified the meaning of *siddhanta*, we have also to clarify in a similar manner the concept of *mukti*.

Mukti, let us recall, answers to the question of the *meaning* of existence. It provides the *sense* for living, the overriding goal of all our endeavours and struggles. It provides a vision of what a psyche would be ultimately, at the end of both the evolutionary and developmental process, a vision that is absolutely satisfying and that which nullifies any looking beyond. It is the absolute end of psychical existence to which not only there is no alternative but also about which nothing else is even thinkable. It is a vision of a sense, a meaning for living, that sublimates any further endeavour in that direction; the vision closes on itself putting an end to the whole quest. It is a terminus that terminates all enquiry, all struggles towards perceiving the meaning of existence.

The *siddhānta mukti* then must be such a vision that is *coherent* with the other *Siddhāntas*, *objective* in the sense outlined earlier and of course *reliable*.

Now an important objection could be raised. The language in which this whole enquiry is couched presupposes a certain view, a vision, and therefore inconsistent with the principles enunciated. The objection is valid. But let it be noted: we are aware of it and are prepared to cast out the whole perspective, should it emerge erroneous. The vision presupposed is that which is consistent with the view that human behavious is essentially that of *acting*, doing this and that for

accomplishing something or other, on the basis of whatever one is aware of. This vision of behaviour, which has been discussed in greater detail elsewhere, is taken as a *siddhānta*, at least provisionally. No enquiry is free of perspectives; what is required is an awareness that a certain perspective is being presupposed as well as a preparedness to cast it aside, should it emerge erroneous in the course of investigations.

This explanation justifies beginning our enquiry with the understanding that *living* is learning and there are on the whole three distinct but interrelated strands of learning. The X-learning is the instrumental learning, the primary motivation being self-gratification. It is an outcome of activities indulged in for self itself and not for any other. It is also a form of learning that is directed away from the self so that it does not reveal to the learner the changes taking place within the psychic constitution. Such changes remain unconscious to the X-person.

At some point in time, attention shifts to such changes in the psyche and with this we have the onset of β-learning. The subjectivity of the psyche, the learner is attended to and it develops from being an enquiry into the nature of the psyche to transforming it into image-selfs that are generated within as better alternatives. The technology is one of disengagement through intense reflection and meditation so that in the end, the psyche is freed from some deep limiting factors (*karma* and *māyā*) and becomes truly autonomous. The only delimiter that remains is *āṇavam* causing a Darkness or Ignorance to prevail in consciousness. The learning processes that bring about the elimination of this Darkness within has been termed γ-learning.

In retrospect it turns out that γ-learning is primary and one that has been there all along, though *unconscious* to the individual. It is that which regulates the predispositions underlying α-learning and changes in personality during β-*learning*. *The psyche becomes conscious* of γ-learning at the end of β-learning and pursues it with all the vigour that can be mustered. During the conscious phase of γ-learning, it is seen to be one of archetype-assimilation. This constitutes the characteristic feature of γ-learning. This means that during the unconscious phases of γ-learning it is also one of archetype-assimilation, the archetype being images of the Supreme Deity characterised by fractional portions of three aspects: Universal Consciousness, Absolute Power and Unconditional Love i.e. C, P and L. Each archetype is a measure of these three with the higher constituted with larger measures. The mechanism of γ-learning can then be seen as follows, at least provisionally (for diagram 1, see p.182).

A psyche [S-A] is at any time an archetype assimilated as its being --incorporated as itself unconsciously initially but consciously subsequent to β-learning. It holds in vision the next level of archetype and endeavours to assimilate it and become that. This process continues till the special archetype [S-A]* emerges in consciousness. The C,P and L are no more fractions but rather full portions. This is obviously the *ultimate* in the archetypical formations and therefore once the psychic

transformations to this specific archetype is effected, an ultimate end in γ-learning is reached. The essential consciousness of the γ-learner who is given the consciousness of [S-A]* that sustains his learning is: 'I am That' with 'I' refering to the self and 'That' referring to [A*].

The 'I' refers to a psyche and when used by different people then to different psyches. The referent is not unique. Also the referents are not all identical -- while being psyches, they could be psyches that have incorporated different archetypes.

This sort of analysis cannot be carried over to 'That'. For the referent here is *unique*, no matter who refers to it, it is one and the same transcending space and time and identity of the referee.

Is it possible then to have a vision of *mukti* as this ultimate stage of archteypical assimilation? All psyches in the end become [A*], and hence indistinguishable from each other no matter what route they have taken in this transformational process. The person is also identical with the Deity for he would have a full measure of C, P and L that is characteristic only of the Deity.

This vision immediately raises many problems. If we retain the identity of each psyche and at the same time maintain that ultimately they are indistinguishable from D, then, of course, eventually there would be infinitely many Deities, equal in Consciousness, Power and Love.

This vision creates uneasiness within us, for all along we have assumed the uniqueness of D -- there could be only one Supreme Deity even when infinitely many psyches attain *mukti*.

We are forced to explore other possibilities, generate other visions that do not contradict established *siddhantas*.[5]

2.0 The Theistic Considerations

One possibility that occurs immediately and which is currently advocated by *advaita vedanties* is to remove from the above vision the idea that the psyches retain their identity even in *mukti*. We could say that in *mukti*, the situation is different -- the psyche is *no more* at this point. It becomes materially one with the Deity, absolutely non-different from it. All psyches then dissolve their being into the being of Deity at the point of *mukti*. The psyches will not be experiencing the Deity as the psyches are no more. The limit of 'I am That' tranformations is evaporation, or dissolution of I; in the end there is only That.

This vision brings along with it the whole range of *vedantic* ideas. If in the end only That has being, clearly all else must be false, *suddha mithai*, *maya* and so forth. This vision supplants a whole range of others, and it must be emphasized, the *whole range* of others that we have taken as *siddhanta*. It does not *falsify* this or that belief that could have been mistakenly taken as *siddhanta*; but rather, it wipes out the whole lot of them indiscriminately. It does not rectify our mistakes, correct our errors and improve upon our visions. It cuts asunder

the fundamental idea that sustains our existence viz., that of learning and developing into higher and higher levels through learning.

Not alone that, it also leads to the notion that even our *siddhanta* about the Deity i.e. an entity characterised by a full measure of C, P and L, is mistaken. Since in the limit only D is real and there is no experiencing of Deity, there could be no language about It -- the *mukti* is *anirvacana*. Hence also qualityless -- *nirguna*. We are forced to revise our notion of Deity -- the Deity prior to *mukti* is *saguna* i.e. with the qualities of C, P and L. But on *mukti* it becomes *nirguna*. The archetypes, including the highest are mere images, mirages of the Absolute which is in itself *Nirguna Brahman*, undermining again our earlier idea about the archetypes.

Clearly this is unacceptable. The *mukti* as *Siddhānta* can correct and rectify our mistaken visions about it and the related ones but it cannot supplant the entire range of *Siddhāntas* and beliefs that sustain existence and make even this enquiry possible. There may be errors in our visions but all visions are not erroneous. That we *learn* is a *Siddhānta* and that this enquiry is part of this learning process is also a *Siddhānta*. They are incontrovertibly true; visions that can never, never be supplanted. We are then forced to conclude that the vision of *Vedānta Mukti* is mistaken, erroneous and an illusion. Along with this, we have to reject the whole of the *Advaita Vedānta* of Śankara.[6]

Now there is another alternative proposed within the tradition of *Advaita Vedānta*. One can cite Catcitananta Pillai (19th. century; see his *Vedānta Ilakkaṇam*) as the most brilliant exponent of this view.[7]

It is undeniable that there are psyches and during the learning phases at least, an infinity of them. There is subjectivity in every experience -- to say that a vision is an experience is to admit there is subjectivity and hence a psyche. Now *mukti* is a vision and hence an experience and therefore undeniably the experience of a psyche. The psyche *is* even in *mukti*. This means, in the formulation of learning process as one of 'I am That', 'That' vaporises and only 'I' exists. Since 'I' only exists, has being in this ultimate state it follows, all psyches become identical in this limiting case. This means that perceived differences and individuality during the learning phases, must be false, a *mithai*, purely an appearance rather than reality. Since 'That' also disappears, it also follows that the archetypes are mere chimeras, subjective constructions, imaginative fictions without any substantive reality. Since 'I' only is ultimately real, it also follows the self must also be the Deity, the *Ātman* is Brahman -- it is one and the same entity, the psyche, that has been perceived (wrongly of course) as *Ātman* and Brahman. These differences are aspectual and not real and vaporise during *mukti*.

This vision which grounds the psyche as the sole absolute reality and the perceived differences, distinctions and so forth to mere appearances, create the same problems as Śankara's *Advaita* and hence we have to reject it on the same grounds as well.

These monisms uproot and supplant the most obvious *Siddhāntas* and undermine the very reality of the enquiry that we are pursuing now. This very real thing that all of us are pursuing so earnestly now, all of a sudden as if by a sinister magic, is made into a dream-like reality. It negates the whole of experience, negating even the objectively valid distinctions that we have established. What is more, we cannot now, from this perspective, distinguish between *cākkiram* (conscious experience) and *coppaṇam* (dream consciousness) denying what we are most certain.

We reject both the *Brahman Advaita* of Śaṅkara and the *atman Advaita* of Catcitānantar to secure the *siddhāntas* we live by. This *mukti* cannot be *siddhānta Mukti*, a vision of the ultimate that we seek to establish *without* supplanting what we know for sure as *Siddhānta* and the right to pursue further enquiries into *siddhāntas* by rectifying our errors, correcting our mistakes, misperceptions and so forth. The *vedantic* concept of *mukti* does not accord with the criteria we have established.

What emerges from this analysis is that we cannot deny the reality of both *Ātman* and Brahman, the psyche and the Deity in the *Siddhānta Mukti*.[8] Let us now consider other possibilities with this realization firmly anchored in our consciousness.

The psyche is, exists, has being and so does the Deity in *mukti*. But the psyche in *mukti* is not the one in ordinary life -- it is Deity-psyche indistinguishable from Deity in terms of C, P and L. Becoming indistinguishable from the Deity in this manner could then be construed as the *mukti* we are seeking. But then how do we avoid the multiplicity of Deities that results?

Perhaps we have not really understood the Deity as it is, till we are face to face with this dilemma. Deity is not simply a unique entity with the full measure of C, P and L; it is a *totality that includes all* as parts of Itself. The learning psyches, the psyches that have attained *mukti* all are equally parts of Deity. The difference between the ordinary Souls and the *Muktas* is simply one of estrangement and integration. The psyches that have attained *mukti* become fit to be *integrated* into the very body of the Supreme Deity without any more of even the slightest estrangement. The Deity is the Highest Person, the most inclusive Organismic Substance, the most inclusive Totality greater than which there is nothing. (Recall Nammālvār's famous: *Uyarvara uyar nalam uṭaiyavaṉ.)* The multiplicity of individuals intelligent non-intelligent equally alike, are integrated into a single collective substance, a unity of individuals whose individuality is not annihilated. The psyche in *mukti* retains its identity, it is not annihilated but through a process of integration into the body of the Deity of a most intimate kind, loses its sense of identity to a sense of Unity with the Totality. We have then the vision of *mukti* as 'duality - non-duality' so ably expounded by Rāmānuja using the visions of the original genius Nammālvār.[9]

This view, unfortunately, is not without its problems. The solution, it turns out, is no solution at all. It is simply a clever artefact devised to give a meaning to the sense of

oneness with Deity on attaining *mukti*. In conceptualising this as being integrated into the very body of the Deity in a most intimate kind of manner (sexual union is an apt analogy here), what we attain is a sense of oneness with a simultaneous *loss* of self-consciousness. The psychic consciousness is trapped in the consciousness of supreme bliss and thus *prevented* from being self-conscious. The absence of self-consciousness also means that it is not conscious that it is experiencing something, united to something as a result of which it is in a state of Supreme Bliss. This leads to the conclusion that a psyche integrated thus is not conscious of the Deity at all. In this concept of *mukti*, the vision of the Deity is blocked off from the consciousness of the psyche that has attained *mukti* and is experiencing the supreme bliss.

This immediately strikes us as defective. A psyche whose consciousness is not fully translucent is still a psyche with Darkness within; a psyche imperfect in some ways. Even when we re-establish the consciousness of Deity to such a psyche through postulating oscillations between consciousness of supreme bliss and consciousness of Deity, the imperfection is not removed. It exists each time it experiences the supreme bliss and since the experience is cyclical, this defect is also not something that becomes eliminated completely.

If this vision of *mukti* is now revised and reconstrued as a state where there is both consciousness of the Deity and/or being integrated in a most intimate kind of manner with it, together with the consciousness of Supreme Bliss, the *unitary* consciousness postulated is no more. The consciousness of Deity brings along with it consciousness of self as the one in whose consciousness the Deity is. The subject-object distinction in consciousness is there betraying an absence of *advaita*.

This concept of *mukti* then fails to validate itself. Much more serious is the manner in which it supplants the *Siddhānta* that living is learning, that knowledge is a product of learning. For in the vision of *mukti* as an integration of self in the body of the Deity which is now seen as the most inclusive Totality, clearly the processes involved are not *learning* processes. Learning as activities that remove Ignorance are supplanted and replaced with processes, largely emotional in nature, of *attaching, uniting with*, surrendering to and so forth i.e. *prapatti*. What would facilitate integration is emotional proximity, closeness or identity and such processes are not learning processes. Philosophic endeavours to gain an understanding of a deeper kind cannot be accommodated and religious life would be interpreted as a non-intelletual enterprise with the *jnana* route discarded as vain. Philosophic reasonings would be confined to justifying the approach of absolute self-surrender *(prapatti)* thus denying the autonomy of the intellectual powers.

On these grounds again the 'dual-nondual' concept of *mukti* fails to ground itself as *Siddhānta* and we are forced to discard as erroneous approaches such as that of Ramanuja and his followers.

The above theses and the detailed analysis we have provided make

the source of the problems rather clear viz. the attempt to maintain both the sense of oneness with the Deity *and* the *non-annihilation* of the psyche even at this terminal point.

Another alternative immediately occurs to us now: we can deny the psyche ever becoming the [S-D]* and maintain that it is the nature of the psyche to maintain its being and its distinctness from the Deity even at the point of *mukti*.

No psyche can ever acquire the full measure of C, P and L and hence equal D in any way. The Deity is forever above the psyche and there is always an absolute, unbridgeable chasm between the two. For the psyche is a *dependent* entity while the Deity is not. Whatever measure of C, P and L that a psyche has, is not something that is generated by itself--it has them by virtue of the benevolence of the Deity. The Deity has the power to withdraw and should this be done, the psyche will have nothing, it will be pushed again into utter Darkness.

This then is a duality thesis, much like that advocated by Madhva.

The point in favour of this thesis is that it retains all the *Siddhāntas* that we have accepted hitherto, in particular our understanding of the Deity as one having a full measure of C, P and L and the learning paradigm within which we have been operating. (Hence the acceptance of Siva and the creation of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa cult among the followers.)

But this concept again fails to validate itself. For if there is always an absolute distinction between a psyche and Deity, then no matter at what point in time the psyche can never become the ultimate Deity-Self i.e. [S-D]*. This means that there is forever a Darkness within the psyche -- a Darkness even on attaining *mukti*. But this Darkness, as we have already noted, is due to the presence of *āṇava malam* in the psyche, a delimiter that somehow introduces a Darkness, an Ignorance within. Now this, certainly, is contradictory to the concept of *mukti* as a state where the psyche is absolutely free from all the delimiters. *Mukti*, we are inclined to believe, is a state of absolute purity and not defective in any sense.

We are again forced to reject the duality-thesis on the grounds that it does not correspond to our concept of *mukti* in an essential manner.

We have, with this rejection, reached a crisis in philosophy. There appears to be no way of grounding *mukti* as *Siddhānta*. No matter how we look at it within the paradigms that we have accepted as *Siddhānta*, *mukti* refuses to ground itself, validate itself.

We are forced then to question the paradigm itself. Perhaps the learning approach we have adopted with its acceptance of the reality of innumerable and *anati* psyches, a Supreme Deity and a cluster of *malas* equally *anāti, Siddhāntas* consonant with the concept that behaviour is essentially that of acting, doing something to achieve something are erroneous in a very subtle way. We have to reject all these and explore the new possibilities that emerge and consider them one by one.

For reasons that will become obvious later, we shall call all these new alternatives *reductionistic theses.*

3.0 The Reductionistic Theses

a) In order to still adhere to the concept of human behaviour as that of effecting of actions, we could retain the psyches and eliminate the Deity from our ontology. If we do this, of course, we have to abandon a number of the other categories as well, in particular the things we have termed Deep Limiting Constraints. We have to maintain that there are no such *malas* -- the individual differences in behaviour of the creatures, the hierarchical differences among them and so forth are to be explained by some other means. We can attribute, for example, the delimitedness, the imperfections of the creatures to the physical bodies they own and the cultural, social and ecological environments to which they are exposed. The psyche in itself is absolutely pure, it is its commerce with the material bodies that is the source of the psychological defects and imperfections.

If the psyche is pure in itself, then it must be pure consciousness devoid of any wants, needs and so forth. In other words the psyche is not that which *acts*, the agent of actions. The agent must be then the material substratum to which the psyche is engaged. The material substratum must be *active*, in perpetual, unceasing motion creating the impression that the creatures are in process.

With this vision of creature behaviour, the concept of *mukti* as a state where the psyche is detached completely from any commerce with matter suggests itself. Once thus detached, the psyche regains its original purity, becomes absolute and 'pure' consciousness without any defilements or pollutions. The psyche becomes the *Puruṣa*, that detached and aloof consciousness that has effected the separation.

We are now discussing views close to those of classical *saṁkhya*, probably the first philosophical school to emerge in the Indian soil.

When we further identify this *Purusa* with Brahman, and take the psyches not as real substantive entities but rather 'reflections' of Brahman, which is in itself Pure Consciousness, in a polluting material complex we have the doctrines of a sect of Vira Saivas (expounded in *Siddhānta Sikāmani* of Śivaprakāsar). On *mukti* then, the psyches are no more, all equally become Brahman. On this account the concept of delusion, so characteristic of Vedanta doctrines, reemerges with a new twist. The psyches are seen only as 'empirical selfs' but which are deluded into thinking as real substantive entities in virtue of the fact that they mistakenly attribute the agency of actions to themselves. With the escape from this delusion, the empirical selfs are no more, the *ātman* becomes Brahman again. What is wrong with this? Why are we reluctant to accept this as the ultimate human possibility?

We cannot reject it on the ground that it subverts the *Siddhāntas*

we live by. They are given a peculiar status -- they are true as far as it goes, as far as ordinary existence goes. But they are not absolutely true; in the ultimate stage of development, they are not simply false but they cease to *be*; they evaporate into a Nothingness.

The grounds for rejecting it must be found within the postulates -- we should point out, if we could, an internal inconsistency among the postulates.

And we can see it as follows. Among the processes mentioned, the most interesting are those related to effecting a real separation of the psyche from the defiling material substratum. Clearly this is not accidental and haphazard, without any sense of direction. It is a *directed* course of activities that leads to something immensely beneficial to the psyches -- viz., liberation from being defiled by active involvement with material complexes. Hence, certainly, it could not be simply *processes* of the perpetually active *prakriti*. If it is not, then it must be *activities*, initiated by the psyches themselves to effect the severance from being imprisoned in a material complex. The concept of action and along with it the psyches as their agent is being smuggled back in contradiction to the assertion that behaviour is simply a process of the ceaselessly active *prakriti*. Now if the psyches are agents of such actions, then clearly they act out of a *need*, the need to effect a liberation from being defiled by the commerce with the defiling matter. This then brings along with it the idea that the psyches are *imperfect* in themselves; from the beginning they have an intrinsic weakness, a proneness to be involved with material complexes.

With this analysis, we are back to square one -- to the concept of psyches as agents who act primarily to liberate themselves from the deep limiting factors that expose them to being 'defiled' by material complexes.

For similar reasons we have to reject the Vira Saiva doctrines as well. The psyches that act to liberate themselves from delusions through effecting a disengagement from material bodies, clearly cannot be simply 'reflections' of Brahman within a material substratum i.e. insubstantial, shadowy creatures. They are real as they effect real actions.

b) *In the reductionistic escape routes*, as the above thesis makes it abundantly clear, the retention of either the pscyhe or Deity leads to internal contradtictions. Therefore another possibility suggests itself--we can reject the substantive reality of both the psyches and Deity and admit only a stream of cosnciousness instead. An acting creature can be reconceptualized as a flow or stream of two kinds of processess -- one material and another consciousness. To accommodate continuous change we may even postulate momentary particulars, instantaneous realities, the *kṣaṇas*, that emerge incessantly without being caused and without causing anything. What a creature sees as suffering is actually a

turbulence in the flow of the instantaneous realities. Peace comes to prevail and immense bliss along with it when this turbulence is eliminated and a coherence is achieved.

We are now talking, of course, the kinds of solutions Gautama Buddha gave that have been so influential all over the world. What is taking place here, it must be noted, is also a reconceptualization of the concept of *mukti* itself. Along with rejecting the learning paradigm of behaviour, the concept of *mukti* as something that is experienced by a psyche is also rejected. More than that, in this vision there is no *experience* to talk about at all. There is flow of consciousness either turbulent or coherent and that is about all. There is nothing which sees, perceives a thing as such and such, confirms or corrects its perception and so forth.[10]

The problem with this perspective is that it fails to account for the fact that there is experience and that it is an experience of something. As Husserl, Sartre, Ramanuja and a host of others have noted, consciousness is always consciousness of something; consciousness in revealing itself, also reveals something other than itself. It is *translucent* as Sartre would describe it. And as it is stated by Thirumūlar, if there is *ñānam* then there is also *neeyam*.

With this clarification in mind if we review the Buddhist solution, we will note that the stream of consciousness is also a stream of momentary particulars just like the quanta of energy pulses that constitute the material base. Now if both are perfectly discontinuous, and a continuously changing flow of instantaneous particulars, with nothing permanent, a problem arises -- there could be *no* distinction between turbulence and coherence in flow. Hence along with it, the distinction between living in suffering and attaining mukti. The elimination of the psyches and the Deity eliminates also the very question of *mukti* in obvious contradiction to the very enquiry we are undertaking.

The attempt to redefine the stream of consciousness in terms of a stream of *thoughts* along with other changes in the concept of material world, that become necessary (e.g.William James in his *Principles of Psychology)* also does not solve the problem. Thoughts are not simply impressions; they are *generated* forms of awareness which presuppose a complex execution of cognitive acts of various sorts, an execution that cannot take place without there being an intelligent agent. This whole question has been explored in greater detail in the linguistic discipline that goes by the name of Process Grammar. Thoughts simply do not emerge one after another in a continuous flow -- one is generated, maintained and terminated and another generated and so forth. Neither the thoughts themselves nor the material processes terminate one and originate another. Such generative and terminative changes are products of actions where there is an intelligent exercise of power betraying a substantive intelligent entity as the causal agent of such actions. Thus we derive a self-contradiction within the

perspective of this more drastic reductionistic thesis. The concept of *mukti* then fails to ground itself as a *Siddhānta* -- the mukti thus defined is not the *Siddhānta* *mukti* that we are seeking.

c) The reductionistic theses centering on the psyches and Deity are fruitless; they do not lead to concepts of *mukti* that strike us as *the* concept of *mukti* that we are seeking. The only concept that is left is the concept of *mukti* itself. It would appear that for avoiding self-contradictions we have to accept the existence of innumerable psyches and a Supreme Deity as a *Siddhanta*. But could we redefine the concept of *mukti* with which we started and thus avoid the problems that surfaced initially? *Mukti* may not have anything to do with γ-learning. Perhaps we are mistaken in our concept of learning, in our identification of the three strands of α,β and γ forms of learning and the features we attributed to these and the manner in which we thought they interact.

i) We could, for example, settle for just one form of learning -- that of acquiring logically valid knowledge, knowledge free of doubt and error. The attainment of such clear and logically non-erroneous knowledge constitutes learning and where all that is to be known is in fact known without error and doubt, then we have reached a point where we could proceed no further. We could define the attainment of such a perfect state of knowledge as *mukti*, much like the *nyayā-vaisesika* philosophers of ancient India.

For one thing, if *mukti* is such an attainment, then perhaps no one could ever attain it. Knowledge is infinite and no matter how many times a psyche is reborn and no matter how gifted it is in its intellectual powers, a state of consciousness where it knows all that is to be known without doubt and error is an impossibility. *Mukti* thus defined is made something unattainable forever. The psyches are condemned to a perpetual cycle of births and deaths.

Now, this can be avoided by defining *mukti* not as the attainment of perfect knowledge but rather the intellectual capacity for logically valid, doubt-and-error free knowledge.

With this redefinition, the focus shifts to subjective conditions of the learning psyche. *Mukti* is a kind of transformation of the subjectivity of the learning psyches. If it is the subjectivity of the psyches that is the source of misperceptions, fallacious conclusions, errors and so forth, then clearly, we are returning to the concept of learning that was rejected initially. Learning is not simply a process where error free knowledge is acquired; it contains also processes whereby the psyches are transformed. This brings back the concepts of Deep Limiting Constraints in the psychic constitution and the three strands of learning with which we started this enquiry.

ii) The above problems emerge when we try to redefine learning

in terms of acquisition of logically valid knowledge. But that is not the only alternative available for redefining learning. We can, for example, redefine it as a process in which there is *ethical* development; through true visions a person discards the impurities, the factors that 'defile' the pscyhe and attains a purity where it sees only the good, and the right. Learning is ethical development and it ceases when the visions are good and perfect.

We can recognise such a trend of thought in the essential insights of the Jaina thinkers.[11]

If such a perfection is a subjective condition then it raises the problems about grounding it absolutely. Different psyches could differ in their concept of what constitutes the good and perfect vision and there appears to be no means for agreeing or disagreeing. It could turn out to be simply a matter opinion, subjective fancies, imaginative fictions rather than something objectively valid for all. And what fails on this criteria, cannot certainly be *siddhānta mukti*.

It must also be noted that both these attempts to redefine learning and thereby the concept of *mukti*, also make the Deity irrelevant for the enterprise. The role of the Deity in learning is problematic -- it has to be reduced to an Ideal Self, the limit of what every psyche could become. If this is done then the Deity becomes a projection, a fiction without any substantive reality whose sole function is to provide a criterion for development. And since it is purely subjective, this Ideal Self again fails to resolve conflicts in case where different Ideal Selfs are postulated.

We have reached another point of crisis. Our hopes of grounding *mukti* on the basis of a variety of reductionistic theses also fail through self-contradictions. The visions of *mukti* that emerge in the course of all conceivable reductionistic approaches disintegrate for lack of logical cohesion, consistency among the visions taken as *siddhānta*. However, one important fact emerges through noting the inconsistency of these reductionistic attempts. They establish as sound, as valid the notion of learning with which we started our enquiry. They validate as *siddhanta* our concept of behaviour as effecting of actions and that creatures are in fact *iccā-ñānam-kriya corūbi*. Learning is an activity in which there is reduction in the scope of ignorance and that development is the gradual reduction of Darkness/Ignorance within the psychic constitution.

But within this framework, what could be the concept of *mukti* that is obviously and irrefutably a *Siddhānta?*

4.0 The Siddhanta Mukti

The solution is glaring at us but due to some imperfections within us, we have failed to note it. Perhaps it is something that we could think of only by experiencing the crises that we have faced in our enquiry.

Let us recall the *vedantic* type of enquiry we conducted at the beginning of the essay where we noted with dismay the failure of the time honoured concepts of *mukti* that have been fathered upon the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The *Advaita* of Sankara and its variants, the *visistadvaita* of Nammālvār-Rāmānuja and the uncompromiñg *dvaita* of Mādhava all fail to ground themselves within the frame-work of the learning paradigm that we have assumed and now seen most certainly as the *siddhānta*. What is uniformly true of all these *vedantic* doctrines is that they try to locate *mukti* within the γ-type of learning. And they do this for an obvious reason--they lack a *developmental* perspective; they fail because they do not have the concept of *transcendence*, creative advance, the lifting up of a struggling psyche to a higher plane, *happening* of the most beneficial kind and whose agent is not the psyche but the Supreme Deity Himself.

This transcendence is then, what has been left unconsidered so far. *Mukti* then is *not* an accomplishment of the psyche, it is *not* the end of the psychotransformational processes where eventually the psyche becomes the highest archetype and thereby *equalling* the Deity itself in C, P and L. *Mukti* is a *transcendence* from being a γ-learner. It is a happening that immediately lifts the psyche above the existential form of being a learner. On *mukti* the psyche *transcends* the learning processes and becomes one with the Deity. Facilitating such a transcendence is *not* annihilating, evaporating or destroying the psyche. It is a lifting up to another level of existence, the highest level of existence possible for any psyche. It is the ultimate state of existence effected upon the psyches by the Supreme Deity Himself.

It must be noted that the phenomenon of transcendence is not something new. It has been all along the essence of γ-learning. It is that which provides that initial dim awarenes for psyches completely enveloped in utter Darkness and launches them into phenomenal existence as *iccā-ñānam-kriya-corubi*. It is that which underlies each ascendance in learning and existence which finally lead the psyches into human type of existence where consciousness of itself as it is, becomes available to the psyches. It is also that phenomenon which underlies each one of the disengagements the psyche effects and finally confronts the Deity itself as a γ-learner. At some point in this phase another transcendence occurs leading the psyches to their ultimate form of existence.

This has to be ultimate for a number of reasons. We have seen that γ-learning is a form of learning *directly* under the control of the Deity. The α and β learnings are something brought about by the psyches with whatever foundation provided by the Deity through the mechanism of γ-learning. The essence of γ-learning is its autonomy -- it is not a derivative process such as that of α and β learning processes. In other words, there cannot be another level of learning which indirectly shapes the forms of γ-learning. If that is so, then it is transparent that on transcending γ-learning, a psyche *ceases* to be a learner. It is transposed into a form where there does not arise any need to learn; more generally, it becomes a psyche without any needs at all. It is filled up, there is no more even

the shadow of Darkness within its consciousness. It has no will of its own, no more tendencies to effect actions for reasons of the self and for itself. The final transcendence does not annihilate the psyche, the subject but rather only the *selfhood*, the *ego* or the *subjectivity*. The experiences are the experiences of a subject but, it must be emphasized, without any subjectivity, without any *ātmabodha* 'mental constructs'. The psyche is absolutely pure without any will for *ātmabodha*.

The will of the Deity becomes its will. The psyche, in other words, is no more an *iccā- ñānam-kriya -corūbi* but simply a *ñānam-kriya corūbi* like the Deity Himself.

This transcendental experience without any subjectivity is peculiar. The experience *is* the experience of the Deity -- the psyche coincides with the Deity in *being*. It is a oneness in being, in behaving. The psyche moves in perfect harmony, in perfect synchronicity with the Deity. Dispositionally the psyche is indistinguishable from the Deity. All its activities are in fact the activities of the Deity. The very subjectivity that would lead to activities of its own is annihilated completely and irrecoverably.

This perfect coincidence, coherence and homogeneity with Deity, the impossibility of distinguishing the psyche from the Deity dispositionally, is the real meaning of oneness *(advaita)* that we sensed as part of the meaning of *mukti*. The psyche in *mukti* is *not* equal in anyway to the Deity; it is rather *indistinguishable* from the Deity because of the perfect harmony and homogeneity. Such a psyche then because of this coincidence and homogeneity is the Deity itself -- the true *guru*; it does not do anything that the Deity does not. It is the Deity itself as far as *behaviour* goes. The language of such a psyche also becomes a deep silence *(mouna mudra)* as it is unable to establish a fissure between itself and the Deity. It shows, however, its oneness in disposition, in behaviour.[12]

This then is the *Siddhānta mukti* on the criteria that we have established earlier. It grounds itself -- there are no internal contradictions or controverting of established *siddhāntas*. It is perfectly coherent with the concept of living as learning and existence as a struggle to remove the Darkness within. It is also deeply satisfying and appears to be the right solution, beyond any shadow of doubt, to the problem of the *meaning* of human existence. The *Siddhānta mukti* is not annihilation of the subject, but only the constrained subjectivity. It is a transposition into an inseparable unity, a supremely blissful oneness with the Deity Himself. Most certainly we *cannot think of* anything higher than that homogeneity.

Now we are in a better position to understand the essence of *Saiva Siddhānta* and in what sense it is a refinement of *vedānta* *(vedānta teḻivām siddhāntam)*. It gives an account of *advaita* without annihilating the psyche in the process. The psyche is there as a subject, however, without any subjectivity. This clearly is, what was meant by *a t u t ā ṉ ē ākiya anneṟi* and *ēkaṉ āki irai paṇi niṟṟal* pregnant phrases used by Meykandar in his *Śivañāna Bōdam*. It is not *vedantic* monism that reduces the earlier *siddhāntas* into mirages

and delusions, a falsity of a peculiar kind. The *siddhāntas* remain *siddhāntas* -- the valid visions remain valid for eternity; the attainment of *mukti* does not change the earlier visions that were grounded as valid. By seizing upon the concept of transcendence that the developmental perspective of *Saiva Siddhanta* afforded, Meykandar, for the first time in the history of mankind, gave the outlines of a concept of *mukti* that is indeed the *siddhānta*.

In all humility, homages to Meykaṇḍar, that illustrious son of the Tamil genius.

NOTES

1. For a more detailed analysis of this view see Chapter 7 of "Cross-cultural Studies on Human Ecology" by K. Yoshikawa and K. Loganathan Mutharayan (1985).

2. The training program includes *cāriyai, kriyai, yōgam* and *ñānam*. The *āgama śāstras* describe these elaborately. *Tattuva prakāsam* by Tattuva-prakāsar (14th century A.D.) and the Tamil translation of *Śaiva-būṣanam* by Pañcākra Yogi (19th century A.D.) are two Tamil texts that can be consulted profitably for this purpose.

3. The concept of *citśakti* appears to have been introduced in *Pauṣkara Āgama, Brāmana paṭalam*. See *Śaiva Paribhasai* by Śivagrayogin page 3. It was first articulated in Tamil by Śivagrayogin in his commentary on *Sivanana Siddhiyar*. Kaṇkaṭṭi Maraiñāna Sambantar also discusses it in his *Pasu Pati Pāsap Panuval*.

4. I could not find any texts that have analysed the concept of *siddhānta* to the required level of clarity. The present analysis can be taken as a refinement of the concept of *kāṭci* (i.e.) insight, vision, perception) that is presented by Arunandi in his *Śivañāna Siddhiyār, aḷavai-iyal*.

5. For a detailed and somewhat technical definitions of α, β and γ learning, see the author's 'Agamic Psychology and Child Development' (1984). These concepts are developed from the *pāca ñānam, pacu ñānam* and *pati ñānam* that is so central to *Śaiva Siddhānta*.

6. The literature on *Advaita Vedānta* in Tamil is quite extensive. However, for the purposes of this essay the books by one Arian (19th century A.D.) viz. *Atvaita Viḷakkam, Petavata Tiraskaram* and *Vedanta Tīpikai* were consulted.

7. The *Vedānta Ilakkaṇam* is certainly one of the most brilliant philosophical texts of the 19th century A.D. It is very elaborate, containing more than one thousand *sūtras*. The author himself has given a brief commentary for half the text.

8. This by no means exhausts all the possibilities. The Vaḷḷalār tradition initiated by Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷal seems to have developed a new school that goes by the name of *ñāna jīva vātam*, a vedantic variant that arose as a reply

to the siddhāntic critique. See *ñāna jīva Vātak kaṭṭaḷai* by Śrī Śesāṭṭiri Śivanār with commentary by Śrī Kāsikānanta - ñānācārya swāmi.

9. These views are expounded in numerous *maṇipravāḷa* texts. The texts consulted here are the triad: *Tirumantiram, Tuvayam* and *Saramalōkam* known collectively as *mūmuccup paṭi* rendered into chaste Tamil by S.Krishṇa Vēṇi Ammāḷ (1952).

10. Such views are expressed by Dignaga (c.5th century A.D.) and Dharmakirti (c.7th century A.D.). See *Buddhist Logic* by St.Scherbatsky. Similar views are also available in Tamil in the classic *Maṇimēkalai* (c.5th century A.D.).

11. Such Jaina texts as *aruṅkala ceppu, aruneṟic-cāram* and so forth can be cited in support of this claim. The commentary on *Nīlakēsi* is probably the best source for the Jaina doctrines in Tamil.

12. This view of *mukti* has been elaborately discussed by Sri Guruñāna Sambantar, particularly in his *Mutti-niccayam.* The following verse is particularly pertinent:

un uruvam kaṇṭiruppatō kēṭṭēn, mutti civan
tan uruvam kaṇṭirukkat takkatē - mun ariñar
ōtu civan tōṟṟam enṟumē kāṇpar enum
pōtam marantanai ippōtu

A more extensive discussion is available in a later text viz. *Siddhānta Niccayam* by Śrī Thirunāvukkarasu Tēsikar (c.17th. century A.D.). The following verse (124) is highly pertinent here:

uyir kāṇun civānubavam onrinukku murittē
uyar cīvanukku, muttar civamē kaṇṭiruppar
payil paramē pārttiruppār taṅkaḷ pārār
paravu civan tēṟṟam onṟumē kāṇpar enṟum
ceyamākum civānubavam cuvānupūtikamām
civajñānap perumai utaiyōr civanaip peṟuvar
mayalelā nīṅka aran malar aṭikkil iruppan
mārāta civānubavam maruvi enṟumē

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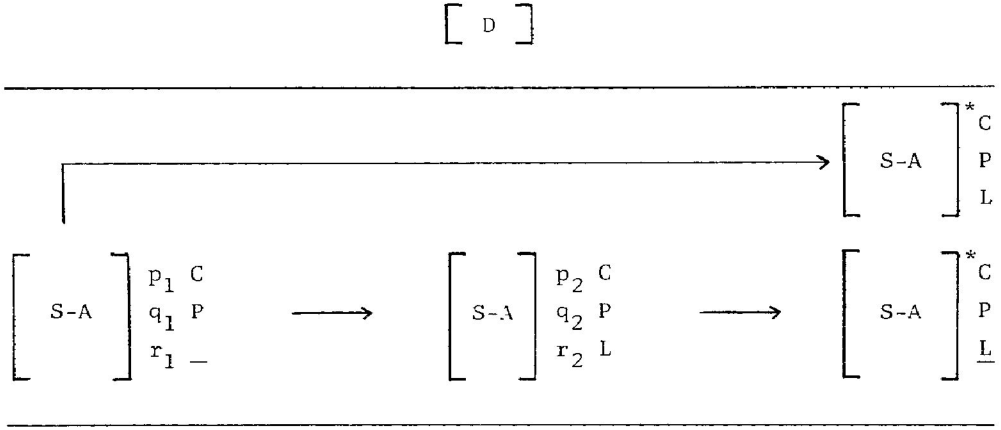
Diagram-1



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ANTI-DOTE FOR COBRA POISONING

J.Sadique, V.Elango, V.Thenmozhi and T.Chandra

SUMMARY

Of several herbs that were tested for antidote potency after oral administration, *Ocimum sanctum* and *Ocimum basillicum* were able to delay the death time in rats, after Cobra envenomation, by 120 and 109 minutes respectively. The alcoholic extract of *Semicarpus anacardium* when given orally was able to postpone the death by 81 minutes, whereas at low doses when injected subcutaneously it was able to postpone the death by 170 minutes after injection of cobra venom in rats. A combination of these drugs was not effective. *S. anacardium* when subjected to sequential extraction with organic solvents showed activity in chloroform fraction which was able to prevent the death in rats after cobra envenomation at a dose of 600-800 µg/100 g.b.w. by subcutaneous injection. The activity slowed down after it was exposed to room temperature for 3 days. Other solvent fractions did not possess full activity. All these fractions were able to inhibit phospholipase A_2 to more than 80%. A possible mode of action is suggested.

Introduction

In ancient civilizations, the snake personified the spirit of earth. It was God according to the beliefs of ancient Egyptians (1). Uraeus, the Gold Cobra, symbol of sovereignty, knowledge and life, shone on the forehead of the Goddess Isis. In bibilical tales, the serpent enticed the woman to pick the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil (2). Egyptians associated the snake with the concept of ceaselessness and for the African people, it evoked concepts of time and space (3). In Hindu religion it symbolises power and the serpent adorns the neck of God Śiva. The cult of snake worship is still practised in many parts of India.

Review of the work done

Avicenne has described the symptoms of snake venom poisoning (1). Snakes were used to frighten the soldiers in the Roman sea warfare. Andromachus, a Roman doctor mixed the flesh of Roman snake with some other substances and developed an antidote to the venom, called 'Theriaque'. It was later proven to be not effective. In the Indian system of medicine, many herbal drugs have been suggested as effective anti-dotes to snake-bite (4-7). According to Mhaskar and Caius, as recorded in Indian Medicinal Plants by Kirtikar and Basu (7), most of the herbal drugs are ineffective as antidotes to snake poisons. A book on snake venoms edited by C.Y.Lee

(8) does not contain a single reference to any effective plant anti-dote to snake poison even though one chapter is devoted to vaccination against snake bite poisoning. Eventhough such a gloomy picture is available on plant anti-dotes, it cannot be overlooked that herbal treatment for snake bite is still practised by practioners of traditional medicine. So, we have attempted to study scientifically whether herbal remedies as cited in literatures and as practised by the village practitioners are effective in cobra envenomation in experimental rats.

Snake venoms, especially of Elapidae (Cobra and Kraits) and Hydrophidae (Sea Snakes) have been known for centuries to produce symptoms relevant to the nervous system in the envenomed subjects. The most characteristic symptom is the paralysis of voluntary muscle which results in respiratory failure. Neurotoxins are believed to be the causative factor of these snake venoms, dismissing voluntary muscle from nervous control and, in general, are the major principle for their lethal toxicity (9). The actions of various types of neurotoxins are centred around neuromuscular junctions. The pharmacological actions of whole venom are, in general, very complicated, since the constituents of the venoms such as cardiotoxins, other related membrane toxins and phospholipase A may affect the nerve and muscular structure specifically or non-specifically, if sufficient concentrations and action time are allowed (9).

The term 'neurotoxin' is frequently used in literature on snake venoms to describe a venom or a venom fraction which produces paralysis or convulsions before death or any change of behaviour. The neurotoxins of cobra venom act on the acetylcholine receptor of motor endplate on the muscle membrane rather than on any structure of motor neurons (9).

Among the venoms of cobra, those of *Naja naja* (Indian Cobra), *N. n. atra*, *N. haje*, *N. nigricollis* and *Hemachatus hemachatus* have been studied. Although the toxicity, pharmacologocal properties and chemical constituents of cobra venoms may vary quantitatively from one species to another species, there appears to be no marked qualitative difference . Post-synaptic toxins (neurotoxins) have been shown to be the main lethal principle. Other constituents such as cardiotoxins and phospholipase A may contribute to overall toxicity of venoms. The lethal toxicities of various cobra venoms are rather close, although *N.naja*, *N.n. atra* and *N.nivea* appear to be slightly more potent. LD^{*}_{50-100} in rats for Indian Cobra venom was found to be 0.66 mg/kg b.w.$^{+}$ (10). The difference to toxicity between subcutaneous route and intravenous injection is not marked in cobra venoms.

In animals, except in cats, flaccid paralysis is the main symptom after injection of cobra venom (11). There is usually an initial period of restlessness and excitement, presumably due to a local irritation by cardiotoxin. The animals become dull with unsteady movements and dropping head. The respiration is distinctly laboured and animals die of respiratory paralysis which is often herladed by asphyxial convulsions (9). Observation of snake bite wounds in human beings is of importance in deciding whether a venomous snake bite has occurred. The fangs of elapids (Cobras and Kraits) are of pin thickness. Fang

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*L.D. -- Lethal dose +B.W. -- Body Weight

marks from such small structures may not be seen on the skin of the feet or toe of the people who go barefooted. The earlier authorities on Indian snake bite said, that following a snake bite, any abrasion or scratch, however trivial, may be dangerous (12). The mark of fangs is not always a guide, because there may be scarcely a sign on the skin to mark the spot (13) and the fine needle-like fangs of kraits may leave no visible marks (14).

Local necrosis around puncture marks is the commonest sequel to effective cobra bite (15). There is a teaching in India that the universal symptom following a snake bite is fright. The emotional symptoms appear within minutes of the bite, whereas symptoms of systemic envenomation rarely appear until a half to one hour after bite (16). Vomiting is the commonest of symptoms, occurring within 5 minutes of the bite (17), or not until 12 h or more, after the bite. The patient may vomit once or several times. Headache may commence within 2 minutes of the bite (18). It may last for half an hour to several hours or even days (19). Loss of consciousness is the least of preparalytic symptoms and signs. It may also occur within minutes of the bite (20) or be delayed for several hours. The period of unconsciousness may last for some minutes (21) or as long as 12 h (22). A study of Indian literature indicates that syncope is a well documented symptom of venomous snake bite (23) and of proven elapid (cobra, kraits) bites (24). In this preparalytic comatose state, convulsions may occur (25). Respiration may fail and artificial respiration may be required (26). Despite the severity of these symptoms, the patient, although dead to all intents and purposes, recovers and may not develop a minimal degree of muscle paralysis (27). During hypotensive unconscious state, a cerebrovascular injury may occur and result in hemiplegia (28). After cobra bite, patients become ashy pale and cold; sweat profusely; and become comatose, almost pulseless and bathed in cold sweat (vasomotor signs) (29). Drowsiness and urticaria occur after cobra bite (30). Other associated symptoms with muscle paralysis due to elapid envenomation (cobra & kraits) are difficulty in seeing, getting double vision, opening the mouth, swallowing, speaking and breathing, occasionally. First symptom relating to onset of paralysis has been an inability to get out of bed on the morning after the bite (31). In case of cobra bites, the latent period can be short. The muscles supplied by cranial nerves are always affected first and usually the first sign of neurotoxicity is the development of a slight degree of ptosis (Drooping of eye lids) with or without some impairment of eye movements in vertical or lateral directions. With small doses of venom, these eye signs may be the only evidence of muscle paralysis (30, 31). With larger doses of venom, a complete drooping of eye lids occurs, exposing a small strip of cornea (15). The eye becomes fixed in central position. The pupil reacts to light. The muscle paralysis lasts for about 2 days, following elapid envenomation and then recovery occurs over the next 2-5 days. A longer period of muscle paralysis occurs--upto 14 days or more after cobra bite (15). In cobra bite, preparalytic symptoms, apart from local symptoms of severe pain and swelling, are frequently absent. Headache, vomiting, drowsiness and loss of consciousness have been reported (32). Muscle paralysis is not common.

If it occurs, it tends to occur early in the course of envenomation. Its progress is frequently rapid. Eye, bladder and chest muscles are primarily involved. The death time is quite short (33).

From the above account, it can be understood how far Cobra bite is fatal. Anti-venene therapy is useful in cobra bite. Cobra AV* shortened the duration of muscle paralysis and saved patients whose lives were threatened by paralysis of muscles of swallowing and respiration (34). The dose of specific cobra AV, required to neutralize the average venom yield, has been estimated to be 330 ml (35), 350 ml (36), or 100-200 ml with a more concentrated cobra AV (37). The intensive care ward is the best situation for AV administration. AV should not be given directly into the vein but only along with the intra-venous infusion. AV may cause side effects from mild skin reaction to fatal anaphylactic shock (38). So, it is better to test skin sensitivity using dilute test dose (39). If skin reaction occurs, adrenaline and an anti-histamine are injected (15). A febrile reaction to AV frequently follows within 1-2 h of administration (15).

Materials and Methods:

The lyophilized cobra venom powder was obtained from Irula Co-operative Snake Farm, Mahabalipuram. The snake venom powder was dissolved in physiological saline (0.9% sodium chloride solution).

The cobra venom was injected to albino rats sub-cutaneously. For determining the death time of rats for cobra venom (LD 100), different concentrations of snake venoms were administered to various groups of rats, each group consisting of 2-5 rats.

In order to determine the anti-dote potency of Siddha drugs, the drugs were administered orally at doses as specified in the Tables one hour before the injection of cobra venom. The alcoholic extracts of the medicinal plants were also administered sub-cutaneously following the injection of cobra venom. For every experiment a control group, without administration of drugs, that received venom injection was mainstained. The difference in average death time between drugs treated grroup and control group was calculated. Phospholipase A_2 was prepared from cobra venom (40). Phosphilipase A_2 was treated with HRBC+ and incubated at 37°C for 30 minutes. The amount of hemoglobin released was measured using Jasco U-V visible spectrophotometer at 560 μ The alcoholic extracts of different medicinal plants were added in concentration as given in Table II. The percentage of prevention of lysis was calculated from control lysis values (41).

Results and Discussions:

From Table I, we can find that the rats injected with cobra venom at a dose of 100 μg/100@g.b.w. had an average death time of 66 min. The higher doses of cobra venom (250μg and 500μg/100 g.b.w. shortened the length of death time. In case of the venom of *Nāja nāja* (Indian Cobra) LD_{50-100} value in rats was found to be 66 μg/100 g.b.w. (10). In case of mice, rabbits, pigeons and cats, these values were 45, 30-50, 50 and 200 μg/100 g.b.w. respectively (10, 42). The cats were resistant to cobra poisoning. These values differed

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*A.V.--Anti-venene +HRBC--Human Red Blood Cell. @ μg=1/1000000 gram.

in different types of Cobras and related elapid venoms (9). So, we have selected a dose of 100 μg of cobra venom in all the subsequent experiments for anti-dote assay.

From Table II, it can be inferred that *Aloe vera* juice did not exert any beneficial effect. However, there is no mention in indigenous literature of any beneficial effect (4-7). *Polygala elongata* is suggested to be specific for snake bite (4,5). In Tamil Nadu also, it has a long reputation for its anti-dote property to snake bite. But, it exerted very feeble activity, since the delay in death time was 12 min. It has been reported that crushed leaves of *Coleus aromaticus* are useful in relieving the pain and irritation caused by centipedes (5). It is rich in essential oil containing carvacrol (4), but, it did not show any anti-dote activity for cobra venom. *Gynandropsis gynandra* is suggested to be useful in scorpion sting and snake bite (4). The root is recommended for the treatment of snake bite (Sushruta) (7) and it is a reputed drug for cobra bite in Sri Lanka. The leaves of this plant are useful in scorpion sting and snake bite (5). Our experiment showed that this plant did not exert any beneficial effect (Table:II). *Ocimum sanctum* is suggested to be an anti-dote for snake bite and scorpion sting (4). Every part of the plant is used in snake bite (7). The juice of the fresh leaves, the flower tops and slender roots are used as an anti-dote in snake poisoning (5). Mhaskar and Caius report that both the above mentioned plants are useless as an anti-dote to snake bite (7). From Table II, it can be understood that the juice of the fresh leaves of this plant at a dose of 100 mg/100 g.b.w. when administered orally delayed the death of envenomed rats for 120 min, whereas the extract prepared from this plant using 50% alcohol postponed the death by 109 min. The leaves have been reported to contain 0.7% essential oil containing eugenol, carvacrol, methyl eugenol and caryophyllene (4). So, the effect observed may be due to the presence of the essential oil and this finding is found to be contradictory to that of Mhaskar and Caius (7).

Phospholipase A_2 is richly present in snake venom (43). Phospholipase A_2 acts on membrane associated phospholipids liberating lysophospholipids (lysolecithin). Lysolecithin acts on the membranes of the RBC causing the lysis (44). The degree of lethality arising from phospholipase A_2 in cobra venom is low and it is not the only component responsible for lethality of the crude venom (45). But, however, the contribution of phospholipase A_2 towards the total toxicity of the crude venom cannot be ignored. Phospholipase A_2 causes hypotension because of the formation of unsaturated fatty acids which are used for the synthesis of highly potent prostaglandin precursors such as rabbit aorta contracting substances (43). Further, it uncouples oxidative phosphorylation and inhibits the activity of those enzymes which are membrane associated. Many actions arise from either direct action of phospholipase A_2 on phosphilipids which are required for enzyme activity or due to the secondary products arising from the action of phospholipase A_2 such as lysophosphatides and/or fatty acids (43). Further, it causes swelling of mitochondrial membrane. There are basic, highly potent and toxic phospholipase A_2 enzymes in several venoms (46, 47). From Table VI we can find that the alcoholic extract of *O.sanctum*

at a concentration of 10µg was able to inhibit phospholipase A_2 by 82.5%. The alcoholic extract of *O.Sanctum* at a dose of 100 mg/100 g.b.w. did not prevent death, after cobra venom injection, but since it postponed the death time by 109 min, it is likely to suggest that the postponement of death may be due to the capacity of alcoholic extract to inhibit phospholipase A_2 enzyme; and complete prevention of death is not possible because of its inability to reverse the effects caused by potent neurotoxins and cardiotoxins present in cobra venom.

Ocimum basillicum is suggested to be a popular remedy for snake bite (17). Nadkarni (5) reports that it is an anti-dote for snake poison. Leaves of this plant contain essential oils like methyl cinnamate and terpinene (4). The leaf is not an anti-dote for snake poison according to Mhaskar and Caius (7). Our present experiment showed that the fresh juice of the leaves of *O.basillicum* was able to postpone the death by 62 min. The alcoholic extract of *O.basillicum* at a concentration of 25 µg was able to inhibit phospholipase A_2 enzyme by 91.6%. The arguments that were discussed in the case of *O.sanctum* may hold good in this case also. The leaves of *Eclipta alba* (white flowered) are being used in the treatment of snake bite, according to Siddha literature (6). It contains alkaloids like ecliptine and nicotine (4). From Table II, we can find that fresh juice of *Eclipta alba* leaves was able to postpone the death by 37.7 min., whereas the alcoholic extract of this plant was found to exert an insignificant activity.

Cynodon dactylon which is rejected by Mhaskar and Caius (7) as an anti-dote, is used in cobra bite according to the Unani system of medicine (7). But we have found that this drug at a dose of 100 mg/100 g.b.w. orally was able to postpone the death by 33.4 min. Ashes of *Semicarpus anacardium*, a plant considered as useless (7), is used in combination with other drugs in snake bite and scorpion sting (4). It contains anacardic acid, cardol, catechol, anacordol and fixed oil. We have found that *Semicarpus anacardium* at a dose of 75 mg/100 g.b.w., when given orally postponed the death in rats, after cobra venom injection, by 56.5 min. When different concentrations of 50% alcoholic extract of *S.anacardium* were injected subcutaneously to envenomed rats, a dose of 1 mg/100 g.b.w. showed the highest delay in death time of 170 min. When the dose was increased, the death time was shortened. Similarly, when this extract was injected on the opposite side of envenomation, the death time was also shortened. So, it may be inferred that when this drug is injected, it is better to inject at the same site of cobra venom injection. *S.anacardium* was subjected to organic solvent extraction serially from low polarity to high polarity. It was found (Table:III) that the chloroform fraction was highly effective when administered subcutaneously nearer to cobra venom injection site at a concentration of 600, 700 and 800 µg/100 g.b.w. in preventing the death by cobra envenomation. The animals are still alive even after 42 days when this manuscript was prepared. However, the lower concentrations and higher concentrations did not prevent the death completely. When this extract was exposed to room temperature for 3 days and 4 days (Table IV), the effective doses of chloroform extract of *S.anacardium* (600-800 µg) lost the capacity to prevent the death

completely. This result indicates that the active principles of the chloroform extracts of *S.anacardium* may be unstable in room temperature. The other extracts like petroleum ether, benzene and alcohol were not as effective as the chloroform extract. Normally in such sequential extraction, it is possible that the chloroform fraction may contain steroids, triterpenoids and fat. Further, it can be noted from Table VI that phospholipase A_2 enzyme was inhibited by petroleum ether, benzene, chloroform and alcohol fractions upto more than 80%. It is likely to suggest that chloroform fraction may contain the active principles that are not only able to inhibit phospholipase A_2 but also are able to reverse the toxic effects caused by crude cobra venom containing different components such as neurotoxins, cardio-toxins, complements, direct lytic factors and a cascade of innumerable enzymes. This is the first report of its kind about a drug that is capable of preventing death caused by cobra venom poisoning. The higher doses were not effective and it may be due to the fact that the chloroform fraction of *S.anacardium* may itself be toxic at higher concentrations. This fraction was found by the research workers to be highly irritating. When extracting this fraction, researchers developed allergy. So, caution must be exercised in avoiding contact with the fumes. Further, it was found that when this fraction was administered orally, the rats were showing symptoms of stomach irritation. So, it is important to suggest that this drug must be administered in lower doses subcutaneously. The efforts are under way to preserve the activity of the chloroform extract of *S.anacardium*. As suggested earlier since anti-venene therapy some times leads to total anaphylactic shock, this drug seems to be promising, if it does not cause any side effect. Further the elaborate hospital facility may not be required in the treatment of cobra bite with this drug. Still, it is necessary to find whether the chloroform fraction of *S.anacardium* is useful in different snakes' bites.

A number of single drugs (Table II) and a number of combined drugs (Table V) were screened for cobra bite. *Aristolachia indica* is a reputed drug for snake poisoning, according to Indian medicine literatures (4-7). It was found to be ineffective (Table II). This result is in agreement with that of Caius and Mhaskar (7). *Leucas aspera* is also suggested to be effective in snake bite (5-7). Its effect was feeble in our experiments. *Aristolachia bracteata* is also another antidote, as suggested in Siddha literature (6). Its effect was feeble (Table II). *Alangium salvifolium* was found to delay the death by 55 min. at a concentration of 100 mg/100 g.b.w. when administered orally. This is also a reputed drug in Indian Medicine (5-7). *Opuntia dillenii* is a specific drug for snake bite. It was able to postpone the death by 35 min. *Corallocarpus epigaeus* is also a reputed anti-dote for snake bite (4-7). It was able to postpone the death by 75 min, during cobra envenomation. *Mollugo lotoides*, Velliparpam and Ayaveerachenduram were able to postpone death by 56, 27 and 30 min. respectively. We collected information for the snake bite treatment from our programme entitled, 'Survey of uses of Siddha medicine in the villages of Thanjavur district'. These drugs were also tested. The individual drugs that showed some anti-dote activity were combined and then tested. The results are presented in Table V. The drug combinations were not able

to prevent the death from Cobra envenomation. From all these results, it can be concluded that, as the cobra venom is complex, the treatment is also complex; but the present result of the chloroform extract of *Semicarpus anacardium* is promising. Now it warrants all the efforts to develop this as an effective herbal anti-dote for cobra venom poisoning, as well as for other poisonous snakes.

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GLOSSARY OF TAMIL EQUIVALENTS FOR MEDICINAL PLANTS

1. *Aloe vera* = *Cōṟṟukkaṟṟālai*
2. *Polygala elongata* = *Periyā-naṅgai*
3. *Coleus aromaticus* = *Kaṟupūra-vaḷḷi*
4. *Gynandropsis gynandra* = *Taivelai*
5. *Ocimum sanctum* = *Tuḷaci*
6. *Eclipta alba* = *Karisalai*
7. *Ocimum basillicum* = *Tiruniṟṟup-paccilai*
8. *Cynodon dactylon* = *Arugam-pul*
9. *Semicarpus anacardium* = *Cēraṉ-koṭṭai*
10. *Aristolochia bracteata* = *Ādutiṉṉāp-pālai*
11. *Lucas aspera* = *Tumbai*
12. *Alangium salvifolium* = *Aḻiṅgil*
13. *Opuntia dillenii* = *Cappāttik-kalli*
14. *Corollocarpus epigaeus* = *Āgāya-karudaṉ*
15. *Aristalochia indica* = *Īśvara-mūli*
16. *Mullugo lotoides* = *Ceṟuppadi*
17. *Allium sativum* = *Pūṇḍu*
18. *Calotropis gigantea* = *Erukku*

TABLE I

The effect of different doses of Cobra venom in the total mortality rate of rats.

S.No.	Concentration of Cobra venom in µg/ 100 g.b.w.(s.c)	Average death time in minutes
1.	100	66.0
2.	250	52.5
3.	500	45.0

TABLE II

The effect of different drugs on oral administration on prolongation of death time after cobra envenomation in rats (100 μg venom s.c.)

S.No.	Drug	Dose in mg/100 g.b.w.	Delay in death time in min (average)
1.	*Aloe vera* juice	100	0.0
2.	a) *Polygala elongata*	100	12.0
	b) *Polygala elongata*	200	6.8
3.	*Coleus aromaticus*	100	0.0
4.	*Gynandropsis gynandra*	100	0.0
5.	a) *Ocimum sanctum* (fresh)	100	120.0
	b) Alcoholic fraction of *O.sanctum*	100	109.0
6.	*Ocimum basillicum*	100	62.0
7.	a) *Eclipta alba* (fresh)	100	37.7
	b) Alcoholic extract of *E.alba*	100	6.1
8.	*Cynodon dactylon*	100	33.4
9.	a) *Semicarpus anacardium*	75	56.5
	b) Alcoholic extract of *S.anacardium* (50%)	25	81.0
	ii) -do-	50	1.0
	iii) -do-	75	17.0
10.	*Aristolochia bracteata* (leaves)	100	8.0
11.	*Leucas aspera* (leaves)	100	10.0
12.	*Alangium salvifolium*	100	55.0
13.	*Opuntia dillenii* (root)	100	35.0
14.	*Corallocarpus epigaeus* (tuber)	100	75.0
15.	Velliparpam	10	27.0
16.	Ayaveera chenduram	10	30
17.	*Aristolochia indica* (root)	100	0
18.	*Mollugo lotoides*	100	56
19.	Alcoholic extract of *Semicarpus anacardium* (SC route) (at the same site of cobra venom injection)	5	85
	b) " "	1	170
	c) " " (At the opposite side of cobra venom injection (SC)	1	50

TABLE III

The effect of Organic solvent extracts on Cobra poisoning. *Semicarpus anacardium* was extracted in Soxhlet Extraction apparatus for 8 h. using Petroleum ether, Benzene, Chloroform and alcohol serially. These extracts were administered subcutaneously after injection of 100 µg cobra venom on the same side. The difference in the death time between drugs treated rats and control rats was calculated. These extracts were used immediately after extraction.

S. No.	Drug	Dose in µg/100 g.b.w.	Delay in death time in minutes
1.	Petroleum ether extract	200	73
2.	Benzene	200	90
3.	(a) Chloroform "	100	363
	(b) " "	500	50% still alive
	(c) " "	600	Still alive sofar
	(d) " "	700	39 days as on 18.10.85
	(e) " "	800	-do-
	(f) " "	1000	360
4.	Alcoholic extract	400	122

TABLE IV

The effect of the chloroform extract of *Semicarpus anacardium* (one that was obtained after serial extraction with organic solvents) after exposure to room temperature for different intervals of time against Cobra venom injection in rat's.

S. No.	No of days of exposure	Drug dose (µg) by sc	Delay in death time in hrs.
1.	(a) 3 days	600	5-09'
	(b) 3 days	700	8-26'
	(c) 3 days	800	7-03'
2.	(a) 4 days	600	3-42'
	(b) 4 days	900	5-21'

TABLE V

The effect of different combinations of drugs in delaying the death time caused by Cobra venom poisoning in rats.

S.No.	Drug combinations	Dose in mg/100 g.b.w.	Delay in death time in min.
1.	*Cynodon dactylon* (the rats were kept over banana stem sheaths)	100	10
2.	*Aristolochia bracteata* + *Allium sativum*	(100+100)	10
3.	*Purified *S.anacardium* Abraha chenduram Ghee	(15+5+2)	13.7
4.	Velliparpam + *S.anacardium* (alc.extract)	10+400 μg	92
5.	Ayaveera chenduram +*S.anacardium* (alc.extract)	10+400 μg	20
6.	*Polygala elongata* + *Piper betal*	(100+100)	32
7.	*Polygala elongata* + *Calotropis procera*	(100+100)	15
8.	*Ocimum basillicum* + *S.anacardium*	(100+50)	--
9.	" "	(150+75)	41
10.	*O.basillicum* + alc.extract of *S.anacardium*	(100+4)	46
11.	*O.basillicum* + *O.Sanctum*+ *Alangium salvifolium* + *S.anacardium*	(100+100+250+25)	0

* *S.anacardium* was immersed in cow dung solution for 2 days. It was washed with tender coconut water and dried.

TABLE VI

The inhibitory effect of the solvent extracts of different medicinal plants on phospholipase A_2 enzyme isolated from Cobra venom. The reaction mixture consisted of 600 μg phospholipase A_2 2.0 ml phosphate buffer (.15 M and p^H 7-4) and 0.5 ml of 10% HRBC along with the drug in different concentrations in a total volume of 3 ml and they were then incubated at 37°C for 30 min. The haemo-

globin released was measured for absorbance at 560 nm in a spectrophotometer. The difference in the values of haemoglobin between control and drugs treated samples was used for calculating percentage inhibition of phospholipase A_2 enzyme.

S.No.		Concentration (µg)	Percentage inhibition of phospholipase A_2
1.	Alcoholic extract of *O.sanctum*	10	82.5
2.	Alcoholic extract of *O.basillicum*	25	91.6
3.	Petroleum ether extract of *S.anacardium*	75	81.7
4.	Benzene extract of *S.anacardium*	10	88.8
5.	Chloroform extract of *S.anacardium*	10	86.0
6.	Alcoholic extract of *S.anacardium*	10	95.0

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Publication No.23

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SEMINAR REPORT

UGC National Seminar on "Ellora Architecture and Sculpture", conducted by the Association of Indian Art Historians in collaboration with the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 18-21 November, 1985.
Venue: the Ellora Caves.

The Seminar on "Ellora Architecture and Sculpture" was held right in the Ellora group of medieval cave temples. The event deserves praise with regard to the dimensions of the theme and the venue. Represented by more than sixty scholars from the various parts of India and the world around, the Seminar proved to be a norm-setter in several respects. To begin with, no scholarly gathering has met at the site of investigation itself to speak with authenticity and reference to the monument, setting aside photographic illustrations. Consequently, the ever-gloomy Ellora caves acquired a fresh illumination, teeming with scholars in different areas of specialisation on Hindu, Buddhist and Jain rock-cut architecture and sculpture. The credit goes to the inspiring lead taken by Professor Ratan Parimoo (Baroda), the prime mover of the whole transaction. Stalwarts like Dr. K.V.Soundararajan, Dr M.N.Deshpandey, Dr Carmel Berkson (USA), Dr S.Settar (Dharwad) and Dr T.V.Pathy (Marathwada) played a vital role by guiding the young scholars into the Ellora caves to study them in a scientific perspective. The four days at Ellora, in addition to scholarly pursuit of presentation of papers, proved to be an adventure in the learning process. It was in fact a voyage of discovery into the realms of scholarship.

In a short inaugural meet, the proceedings were presided over by Dr Ashok Kelkar (Deccan College, Pune) and addressed by Dr B.H.Rajulkar (Vice-Chancellor, Marathwada University, Aurangabad). The keynote address was delivered by Dr.K.V.Soundararajan (formerly Joint Director-General of the A.S.I), an eminent authority on the cave temples of India. In a brilliant exposition of the subject, the learned scholar traced the multi-faceted aspects of Ellora Architecture and pointed out new avenues of research. The talk was in fact an Olympian flight and therefore full justification could not be done due to the complexity of theme. The lecture in retrospect proved to be an introduction to the subject, for an in-depth exploration of Ellora. The inaugural session also covered the release of a book entitled *Raṅga Ajanthyache* (by Prof. P.V.Ranade) and the opening of an exhibition of paintings (by Vijay Kulkarni and others) on Ellora landscape and art.

The subject-matter included a wide variety of topics dealing with Hindu, Buddhist and Jain architecture and iconography, the inter-religious interactions, the intra-cult interactions, the influence felt by Ellora from neighbouring areas like Andhradesa, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and stylistic analysis. Nearly fifty papers were presented in seven sittings. The sessions were held in the Buddhist *Tīn-thal* (Cave XII), the *Daśāvatāra* (Cave XV) the monolithic Kailāsanātha Temple and the Jain Cave (XXXII). The experience in the study of caves *in situ* was indeed novel and fantastic.

Ilāpura or Elūra (Anglicised Ellora) found in the present Marathwada region of Maharashtra is geophysically part of the Satpura ranges in the Western extremity. Forming a Crescent shape, running to about two kilometres in the north-south direction, the mountain ranges in soft sand stone have been cut into more than fifty small, big and colossal cave temples and monoliths. Running from the southern end to the northern end, the caves are of three religious denominations: viz., Buddhist, Hindu and Jain, lying in proximity to each other from the South onwards. The caves like *Dūmārleṇa (leṇa* 'cave') *Daśāvatāra* and Cave XIV are large-scale excavations. Some of them are in two *(dhōthal)* or three *(tīnthal)* tiers and all are studded with sculptures of an extravagant classical idiom and compare stylistically with those of Mamallapuram and Badami. The monoliths, Kailāsanātha, Choṭa-Kailas and Caumukh (the latter two, Jain) are examples of early medieval Indian engineering science, especially when they say that the entire Kailāsanātha was just scooped out in two decades. Time and again scholars (from Fergusson to Pathy) have pointed out the artistic affiliations of the north-western and southern (extremity) parts of peninsular India. The only difference is that the latter group is in miniatures and pale into insignificance before their pyramidal later-types at Ellora. Scholars like K.R.Srinivasan may point out that it is largely due to the type of rock available in both the sites. While the Chāḷukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭas had the blessings of a soft stone medium, the Pallava-Pāṇḍyas had to meddle with rocks of a harder stuff and texture and so the difference. Otherwise a free running granite hill like Āṇaimalai would have provided the venue for so many Kailāsanāthas of the Ellora type. In spite of this hitch over the proportions of the temples, the Pallava group stands out singularly unique and excels all others in their plastic depictions. The Mahiṣāsura-mardhini of Mamallapuram (I may cite Carmel Berkson) is one of the few pieces of the world's best sculptures in *bas relief*. The tilted balance stands equal in this context.

Some of the papers presented tried to focus an aerial survey of the Ellora monuments. K.V.Soundara-rajan, T.V.Pathy and M.K.Dhavalikar dealt at length with architectural features, their evolution and the wonders of Ellora. Prof. Pathy's paper (the author has collected hundreds of photographic illustrations) presented a scientific study of pillar types, door frames, lintels, decorative motifs, facades of temples, *gopurams* and *vimānas*.Prof. Dhavalikar attempted a structural analysis of the Kailāsanātha, further elaborated by Dr.A.V.Jeyachandran and Prof. Vijaya Venugopal. The latter scholars laid their stress on the possible channels

of Tamil impact on Ellora. Dr.Jeyachandran in a brilliant comparative study of the Kailāsanāthas of Ellora and Kāñchipuram, the latter chronologically earlier, with regard to their features in the *pādavarga* and *vimāna*, proved in architectural jargon that Ellora is nothing but an imitation of Kāñchipuram. During the discussion hour, Dr.Settar posed whether the Rāṣṭrakūtas had a chance for direct encounter with the Pallavas to borrow their idioms? Dr.Raju Kalidos replied that the Rāṣṭrakūtas didn't directly follow the Kānchi model but obtained the idea via Paṭṭadakkal wherein the Virūpākṣa temple was erected by the queen of Vikramāditya II Chāḷukya who had a chance to visit Kanchi and take *sthapatis* from there to build a similar temple.

Besides religion, traditions and local beliefs played a conspicuous role behind the artistic creations in India. Ellora is no exception to this norm. This aspect was emphasised by Dr.Micaela Soar (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) and Prof. P.V.Ranade in their papers "The *tīrtha* at Ellora" and "Echoes of Ellora in Early Marathi Literature" respectively. Micaela Soar in a very scholarly analysis went deep into the *tīrtha* concept as gleaned from the *purāṇas* and *sthlamahātmyas* and linked it with images, rituals and yogic systems. Falling in line with many of the earlier authorities, her tendency was to trace everything from the Vedic traditions. No doubt the *Vedas* had left an indelible imprint on the various facets of Hindu and other sectarian beliefs and life but will it mean that the all pervading force in Indian life is only the *Veda?* Should not the contemporaneous literary traditions like Tamil, other than Marathi, be given their due importance, especially in a period when the *bhakti* movement of the Nāyanmārs and the Āḻvārs influenced the entire sub-continent? Prof. Ranade presented a graphic account of the local traditions as embodied in Marathi works like *Līlācharitra*, *Ñāneśvari* and *Kathākalpataru*. It is a very good contribution in the sense that the iconographs and temples situated in a locality could be studied with reference to the local legends which must have surely influenced the artists to a great extent. The author's attempt to translate some of these Marathi myths is indeed laudable. He has traced the antique nomenclature of the various caves; for example: Kailāsanātha temple called Manakeśvar, Cave XXIX called Śaṅkareśvar etcetera.

Some of the papers had a direct bearing on the iconographic potentialities of Ellora. For example: Thiru K.Shivaji Pannikar's "Matṛka Sculptures at Ellora"; Dr S.D.Deo's "Lakulīśa at Ellora and elsewhere in Maharastra" and Prof. K.D.Bajpai's "Śiva and his *ganas* in the art of Madhya Pradesh". Shivaji's paper had a very good theme for study, but it seems to have been done very hastily. He has made an attempt to trace the various representations of the Sapta-Matṛkas from the Ellora group as against their historical evolution, purāṇic background and stylistic context. But the queries why the Matṛkas dominate the Ellora art and what are those seven other figures lodged in the Kailāsanātha temple group along with the Matṛkas, their significance and necessity for induction into the panel have not been deeply analysed. Lakulīśa is a form of Śiva, peculiar to the Deccan. A number of these images are found in Ellora which has provided the

subject-matter for S.D.Deo's paper. In this study the author has considered the *dvibhuja* and *caturbhuja* images, the former sitting and the latter standing, all *ūrdhvaretas* as Lakulīśa. But it appears that the *dvibhuja* types must represent a different aspect, not exactly of Śiva himself but one of his attendants. In another paper Dr. Raju Kalidos came out with a case for identifying the *dvibhuja* images as Caṇḍikeśvara.

An experiment in art never operates in isolation. So, influences from various sects, religions and regions are to be taken for granted under certain circumstances in a particular centre, especially when political contacts and interactions were widespread. Ellora as a major centre of artistic productions in architecture, sculpture and painting by the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains was a vulnerable spot for the meeting and mingling of diversified elements from the different topographical segments of South and North India; especially, the influences from the South were enormous when the *bhakti* movement of the Nāyaṉmārs and Āḻvārs was vigorous and active as a contemporaneous force. This aspect was emphasised by a number of scholars, for example: Dr.A.V.Jeyachandran on "Drāviḍian influence on Ellora Cave Temple Architecture"; Dr Vijaya Venugopal on "Kaḻugumalai Vettuvāṉkōyil (its interaction with Ellora Kailasanatha)"; Dr.Raju Kalidos on "Tamil Interaction with Ellora"; Dr.M.L.Nigam on "Ellora's Affiliation with the Sculptural Art of Andhra"; Dr.V.V.Krishna Sastry on "Architectural Affiliation of Andhra with rock-cut caves of Ellora"; Thiru K.Mankodi on "Śaiva panels of Ellora and Elephanta-Yogīśvara or Dakṣiṇāmūrti"; Thiru Deepak Kannal on "The regional lineages and possible masters at Kailāsanātha temple of Ellora"; Dr.M.A.Dhaky on "The Drāviḍian Sculptures in pre-imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa cave temples in Ellora" and Dr Srinivas V.Padigar on "Craftsmen inscriptions from Badami: their significance". These papers had a clear case for the influence felt by Ellora from Andhradesa, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

To begin with, Tamil Nadu under the Pallavas and early Pandyas had lot of political exchanges with the Chāḻukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This political contact has resulted in cultural exchanges, pointed out by a number of scholars beginning with Fergusson. The Ellora Seminar provided a scientific ground for the examination of the old ideas in a new perspective. In a detailed analysis of the three integral parts of the Ellora Kailāsanātha, viz., plinth, *pāda* and *vimāna*, the various elements as appearing in Ellora monolith (early 9th century A.D.) were compared with those of the Kāñchipuram prototype and declared that former was nothing but an imitation of the latter. In bringing about this parallel, Prof. Jeyachandran pointed out with admirable clarity that the ideas as embodied in the *Tēvāram* (7th-8th centuries A.D.) have been brought out in the Ellora piece. Though criticised by some of the scholars, the case presented by Dr. Jeyachandran stands on a solid footing and, unless scientifically disproved, it is very difficult to dispense with the Drāviḍian influence on the Kailāsanātha of Ellora. Taking the same Ellora monolith for study, Prof. Vijaya Venugopal had a case for the influence of Kaḻugumalai monolith of the same period on the former. The architectural elements and decorative motifs like *karukkuvēlai*

were examined minutely and the channels of inter-change pointed out. Viewing the problem from a different perspective, Dr. Raju Kalidos came out with a case for Tamil impact on Ellora from the iconographical point of view. From a detailed study of the *bhakti* literature, i.e., the *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyiradivyaprabhandam*, it was asserted that a number of Tamil elements in the sculptures of Śivatāṇḍavam, Trimūrti, Caṇḍikeśvara etc., have crept into Ellora. Possibly the Tamil artists, about whom we have epigraphical evidences now, working in Ellora introduced them. The Trimūrti of Elephanta and its replicas found in huge numbers in Ellora were models of the *Mūvarāya-mudalvaṉ* of the Vaiṣṇava type, it was asserted. Till now it has been viewed as a piece of Śiva-Trimurti or Sadāśiva, but in the present interpretation, there is a strong emphasis for treating the central face of Trimūrti as that of Viṣṇu. The coiffure appearing in a bewildering variety in Ellora has been examined by Dr.Pathy in his monumental work on *Ellora;* but the learned scholar fails to name each and every type. It is natural because, it has been the fashion with our art historians to view everything in Indian art only with reference to the Sanscritic sources, neglecting the vernacular ideas in other languages like Tamil. From a study of the *Tēvāram*, a case for identification of each and every type of coiffure was presented. Needless to observe that it is high time, an attempt to reinterpret the Hindu iconographical heritage from the point of view of the Tamil *bhakti* literature has to be undertaken. This approach was encouraged by most of the scholars, including Prof. Pathy and Prof. Settar. Thiru Deepak Kannal in his paper also viewed the problem of the authorship of the Ellora Kailāsanātha as one of synthesis between the Ellora masters and the Southern ideas. The Ellora Seminar has opened new vistas in research. What is now needed is a comparative study of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñchi, Virūpākṣa of Paṭṭadakkal and the Kailāsanātha of Ellora from the architectural and iconographical angles to prove with authority as to who the original designers of the whole plan were. Unless such a study reaches fruition, scholars for the times to come will only be beating about the bush.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti is a peculiarly Tamil concept in iconography. Thiru K.Mankodi, an amateur author from Bombay, had taken considerable effort to prove that it was a popular idea with artists of Western India, especially Ellora and Elephanta. This is a new identification. So far what were treated as Yogīśvara Śiva are now viewed as Dakṣiṇāmūrti and the arguments of the author are really admirable. Though some of these pieces are not actually South-facing, a case for treating them as Dakṣiṇāmūrti has been presented. It is up to the experts in iconography to take up the theme further for elaboration and point out the flow of Tamil ideas into Elephanta and Ellora through the medium of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Similarly Dr. M.A.Dhaky has traced the influence of the Southern idiom in the panels depicting Skanda, Kalyāṇasundara, *dvārapālaka*, *vidhyādharas*, *siddhas* etc., in many of the Ellora panels. The author has minutely discussed the influences which had found their entry into Ellora from the Konkan and the far South. The *sthānaka* attitude of Skanda, the *upavita* thread on his body and the style of wearing

it, the ornaments on the body, the tall *jaṭāmakuṭa* etc., are all in the typical Southern idiom, the author argues. These two papers lend support to the views aired by the scholars, noted in the previous paragraph.

Dr.M.L.Nigam and V.V.Krishna Sastry presented two papers highlighting the architectural and iconographical exchanges that Ellora had with Andhradesa. The latter, lying in close proximity to Ellora, geographically, it is possible that ideas had a free inflow. The thesis was further strengthened by Dr.S.V.Padigar's paper on the names of artists, traceable from the inscriptions of Badami. Many of these names betray their affiliation with Andhradesa -- for example, Sādumañchi, Revamañchi, Siṅgamañchi, Nandimañchi etc. --which indicates that artists from the Telugu country must have been commissioned to do the works in the Chāḷukyan centres of art.

All these indicate that Ellora was not an isolated zone of activity in artistic experiments. The nature of work that was going on must have necessitated the recruitment of artists from the various parts of India. As a result of which artists and ideas must have flown into Ellora from Tamil Nadu and Andhradesa. So, influences were inevitable and unavoidable. Again in those times, patrons and performers would have worried more about the execution of work with all excellence, rather than have any reservation in exposing regional sentiments, though it must have also played a vital part.

The Ellora Seminar appeared as though it is dedicated for a review of the Hindu art traditions, though actually it is a centre of the Jain and Buddhist art also. Until Prof. Ratan Parimoo came out with a paper on the iconography of the Buddhist deities, the participants were swayed by the excellence in Hindu art. A much neglected theme in Indian art history, the iconography of the Buddha as found in Ellora, received its due share at the hands of Dr.Parimoo, an authority on Buddhist art. He was of the opinion that some of the seated images of Buddha, as in Cave XII, are the finest pieces ever created. On stylistic examination the author went on to add that even the best pieces of Ajantha pale into insignificance before the aesthetically superior Ellora works in the Visvakarma cave. In an aesthetic analysis, the consummation of the scholar found a spontaneous flow, when he identified the qualities of Buddhist and Hindu (or what the author calls Brāhmaṇical) sculptures in a contrasting study. On the Buddhist side it is beauty, silence, elegance and manipulation of space within the caves that dominate the aesthetics, while on the Hindu side it is vigour, movement, expression and manipulation of space within relief sculpture. The author has set a new norm for studies in iconography and students are much benefitted by the approach.

A major breakthrough on Ellora studies was the paper presented by Prof. Carmel Berkson, a sculptor herself and an authority on Indian art. She is at present engaged in a book on Ellora and her paper on "*Daśāvatāra:* Its importance in the History of World Art" is a significant contribution to studies in Indian art. The author has no references to be added to the paper and that itself is proof of her intimacy with the Ellora sculptures. In a personal

conversation I asked her: "Where are you from?" She said: "I live in India". Though an American, her reply to my question was something meaningful. I am given to understand that the author writes her book on Ellora not in any library in the United States or India but at Ellora itself! So, one can be sure about the author's ability to speak with authority on Ellora. Actually she took us around the *Daśāvatara* cave and delivered her paper. She was of the opinion that four of the pieces in the cave, viz., Andhakāsuravadhanamūrti, Kālasaṁhāramūrti, Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa and Nṛsiṁha slaying Hiraṇya are among the four best pieces of sculpture in the world. Synoptically presenting the core of her paper, she said: (1) the cave is a metaphor for the relationship of the Absolute within the world, (2) A reconsideration of the theory that the central point *(bindhu)* controls the dynamics in the panel, (3) the innovation of twoequivalent interrelating forces in the panel and (4) the new style: elevation above materially; motion; frame; two figures; three-dimensionality; space; light etc. The author is afraid of writing anything about a cave art. On the other hand she says, "Ultimately the cave must be experienced directly". In about 27 pages the author has spoken in the language of a sculptor, a philosopher and an art critic. We do not know who the original designer and maker of *Daśāvatāra* was, but now we have an American author who could speak with authority of the whole setting of architecture and iconography in Ellora complex. Prof. Carmel has set a model for the younger generation to emulate and follow.

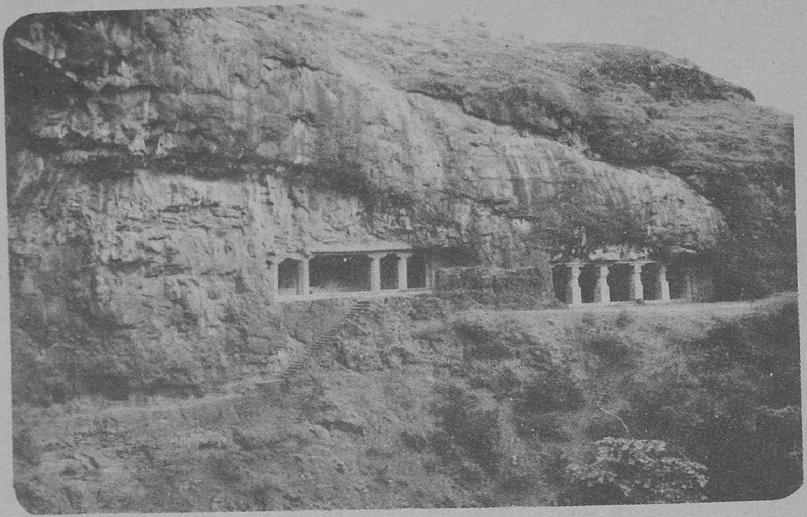
Other papers include Dr.Ashok K. Bhattacharya's "Ellora Sculpture: A stylistic Examination"; Janak Jhankar Narzary's "A Hindu view of Unity: its impact on the styles of Hindu sculptures of Mahavallipuram, Ellora and Elephanta" and Dr.Maruti Nandan Tiwari's "Images of Bahubali in Ellora".

The seminar on Ellora gave a justification not only for the subject but also for the venue selected. Ellora was a bee-hive for four days with scholars flocking to the place in search of scholarly discussions. On the 21st afternoon the proceedings were wound up with a dance illustration by Miss Gauri Parimoo who gave a lecture on the postures of dance as studied from Ellora. Indeed, it was a delightful experience to see the various dancing postures portrayed in sculptures as enacted by a *Bharatanāṭyam* student, quoting from the *Abhilārṣitacintāmaṇi*. It proved to be the climax of our Ellora experience. The participants were able to visualise Nṛsiṁha slaying Hiraṇya, Śiva's dancing postures and so on, with the 'mind's eye'. But as a research worker, the author could have gone deeper as done by Dr.Padma Subramaniyam in the South.

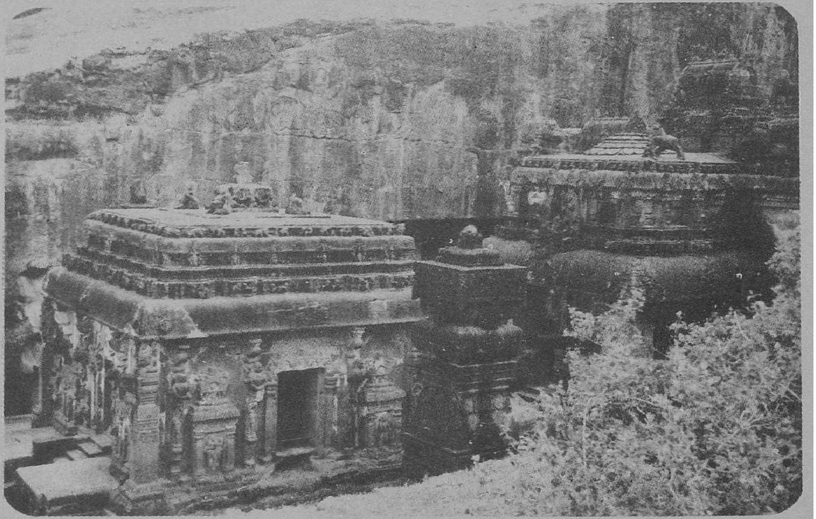
In four days, the experiences of Ellora's artistic achievements in four centuries were analysed. Much has come out substantially and much remains yet to be discovered. What has been done is the spadework and scholars must come forward to investigate into the directions indicated. Till then many of the aspects of the history of Ellora will remain a mystery. Prof. Carmel Berkson recently wrote from Bombay, "It was all fun with you people in Ellora and now (after the departure of scholars) Ellora is calm". But a scholar

never wants Ellora to sleep perpetually; its secrets must be unfolded with the aid of more number of Walter Spinks, Pathys and also Carmels.

RAJU KALIDOS.



ELLORA CAVES: A VIEW



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